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International Affairs

Papers Comment, Editorialize on Visit of Hills

Transfer of Secretaries

92AS0270A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
15 Oct 91 p 6

[Article by Ashok Mitra; italicized words as published]

[Text] A few weeks ago 250 parliamentarians, cutting across party lines, had come out with an unusually strong statement on the issue: the government must not capitulate to American pressures on patents and intellectual property rights. There would however seem to be an inevitability in the manner things are developing. Rumours are rife about our ministers and bureaucrats having already made a private commitment to the U.S. administration. The finance minister, who knows, may any day inform the nation that no alternative was left to it; unless the Americans are kept in good humour, no foreign investment will come in, and that will be the end of the road for us; that is to say, we are on the threshold of being reduced to the status of a banana republic, to be ordered about by Washington, D.C., and by multinational corporations dominated by Americans.

It is in this context that some comments on a recent episode are deemed necessary. Postings and interministerial transfers of Union government secretaries are a routinised round robin affair, repeated every few months. But the latest transfers announced on Mahatma Gandhi's birthday, had a message to convey. All other secretaries involved in the reshuffle were found alternative berths. Only the finance secretary, removed from his very senior, very strategic, position, was out on a limb. He has been asked to proceed on indefinite leave.

To add two and two together is not a difficult exercise. This senior civil servant suddenly given the boot in this manner, S.P. Shukla, was for a number of years our ambassador to the GATT in Geneva, where he mobilised the resistance of the Third World countries against the machinations of the U.S. government and the western lobby in the course of the so-called Uruguay Round of discussions on the issue of patents, intellectual property rights and services. Teaming up with a number of other intrepid campaigners such as Bernard Chidzero, the planning and development minister of Zimbabwe, this Indian civil servant bravely withstood all western blandishments. The threat held out by the U.S. government and its camp followers could not be more overt: unless the Third World countries yielded to the multi-national companies' untrammelled prerogatives on patents, copyrights, designs and trade marks, their own access to the markets of Europe and North America would be barred. In other words, if we want to earn dollars by exporting goods to the United States, we must permit the rapacious pharmaceutical giants to claim superior and eternal patent rights over common drugs manufactured locally by Indian citizens and sold at prices the poor and the humble in the country can afford; we must also permit firms located in, let us say, Atlanta, Georgia, to extract a fee from local vendors of

some coloured water which passes muster as a soft drink. Should the western claims be conceded, steep patent fees would be slapped by American outfits on common foods, chemicals and pharmaceuticals on the specious plea that their manufacture in the United States had preceded the actual processing of similar products in India through indigenous procedures. Should the western demand be conceded, prices of the products in question would immediately skyrocket. Other acts of depredation would follow. In electronics, our scientists and technologists would be hamstrung in assembling software and hardware of various descriptions. The entire point the extensive skullduggery indulged in the GATT discussions by the western powers was—and remains—to stop in its track industrial enterprise in Third World countries and ensure total freedom of entry for the multinational corporations into the nascent markets of such countries. The western negotiators are additionally interested in getting rid of the barriers set up by the poorer countries against foreign penetration in service industries like banking and insurance. True, a handful of American banks have been allowed to open branches in India; they make huge profits. That obviously is not enough. Why cannot more American banks come in, open even more branches and carry away a larger share of profits from India? Why cannot India reprivatise insurance and permit American insurance companies to roan about freely, as they do in the banana republics?

Does that mean that reciprocity would prevail, the Americans would consent to a larger entry of our doctors and engineers, and technicians and other skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers into the American market? No sir, the concept of freedom is unidirectional, it only connotes freedom for the Americans to exploit the Third World markets, not the other way round, not freedom for our workers to enter into the United States in search of employment and opportunities.

The civil servant now summarily removed, S.P. Shukla, had, over the years, fought a relentless battle in international forums against western ambitions to re-enact the 19th century in Africa, Asia and Latin America. He articulated, in his quiet, firm manner, the Third World will for independent economic development. He scrupulously shunned the limelight. Yet, by his dedication and single-mindedness, he did India proud.

But civil servants of his ilk are currently an embarrassment. They might also prove to be a thorn in the flesh. Independent economic development is at the moment a dirty expression in New Delhi. The phenomenon of a fast deteriorating balance of payments has brought about a sea change in perceptions and attitudes. The decision-makers, installed in the last week of June, have a one-point plank of policy: kowtow to the rich westerners; humour them, they will graciously allow you to export more merchandise to their countries; beg of them, they will invest on a much larger scale in your country; bend your knees before them, they will advance you morsels of credit with which you can meet the installments of servicing obligations of loans unthinkingly contracted in the past.

It is, in the view of the wise people now governing our destinies, a surrender-or-perish situation. Notwithstanding the desperate signals we have been ceaselessly sending out since July, it is doubtful how much of extra investment the Americans are to direct toward our shores. Their eyes are exclusively riveted on the Soviet Union and East Europe. The Cold War compulsions which persuaded them to proffer some 'aid' to the wretched Third World countries are defunct. There is, besides, an ideological challenge the economic chaos in the erstwhile eastern bloc countries present which is absent in the case of countries like India. The western governments have to prove to history that socialism can be successfully replaced by capitalist endeavours.

Even the morsels hitherto occasionally thrown at us are therefore likely to become uncertain. What is worse, Americans have been threatening us with clause 301 in their Trade Act: unless we yield to their outrageous demands on patents, intellectual property rights and services, they will prevent our goods from entering their market; our dollar-earning exports, to boost the prospects of which the rupee has been devalued, trade and industrial controls have been overhauled, foreign investment laws have been scrapped, will then actually shrivel.

This threat has sent a shiver down New Delhi's spine. It is an overwhelmingly abdicating emption: do not ask what the Americans can do for you, such as with respect to the restrictions they continue to impose on our exports of textiles and footwear; instead, ask yourselves what you can do for the Americans. The minister of state for commerce had been on an importuning visit to the United States last month; he was supplied with a long roster of the further grounds we must concede in case we want to be in the good books of the American administration. Even as he returned, Carla Hills, the U.S. trade representative, the very incarnation, according to New Delhi's establishment, of a Queen Elizabeth or a Queen Isabella of yore, was visiting India in person, presumably to tell off Indian politicians who were still holding out on the issue of patents, intellectual property rights and services. The very mention of her name these days strikes terror in our national capital. If headlines blared by newspapers owned and controlled by our leading tycoons are to be believed, there is a new criterion for judging the quality of Indian economic policy-making: the goodness or badness of a decision hinges upon whether it would be to the liking of Carla Hills. She is the Creator, she is also the Destroyer. She must be propitiated at all costs even as our local parliamentarians are implored and admonished to see reason.

Carla Hills was coming; she must be put in a right frame of mind. The government of India decided on a gesture nothing short of brilliant. At about the time her plane was taking off from Washington, D.C., S.P. Shukla, the incumbent finance secretary, the principal *bete noire* of the Americans, the individual who, in innumerable international forums, articulated India's, and the Third World's, determination to thwart the grand designs of the western powers to re-install imperialism on a global scale, was

given the sack. The traditional anti-imperialist politicians have thrown in the towel; if the country has to be sold in order that it might be saved, let that selling be done by U.S.-loving former bureaucrats pitchforked overnight into ministerial position. But the finance secretary that we had was a misfit in this company; he had to be cashiered.

In a few years' time, the nation would learn what incalculable damage the pursuit of the chimera of dependent growth had cost it, and further that the only hope of recovery for it lies in trudging back to the path of economic self-reliance. Given runaway domestic inflation and persistent western indifference, exports would refuse to increase, rich non-resident Indians would show little interest to replough any part of their money into the dusty, dirty, poor country they left behind, multinational companies would continue to drain away more foreign exchange than they would earn for the country, prospective direct foreign investors would have other passions than India. A stage might be reached when the International Monetary Fund too would close its window to us; and this even if we place in the slot far serviler finance ministers than the present one.

But such a future is not ours to see at present. Carla Hills, queen empress, was visiting. Something had to be done to prove to her how slavish we intend to be. The decision was swiftly taken. Dismiss that civil servant who had made life so difficult for the Americans at the Uruguay round of negotiations and who even now was not prepared to sell the country down the drain. At the news that Shukla had been given the boot, Carla Hills, the grapevine has it, smiled, at least there was a wisp of a suggestion of a smile on her face. Our day was made.

Nothing New Seen

92AS0270B Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
10 Oct 91 p 8

[Editorial: "An Uneasy Truce?"]

[Text] Ms. Carla Hills is as much a creation of the international trade environment as she is its creator. President George Bush chose her as his trade representative because he wanted someone tough and uncompromising. But her aggressive style is only part of the reason for the high visibility; it is more a measure of the overriding importance of trade in a militarily unipolar but economically multipolar world. Few will recall her predecessor's name (though it was he who set the ball rolling for the United States at Punta del Este, where the current Uruguay Round of GATT talks opened about five years ago); Ms. Hills, on the other hand, has become something of a household name in both developed and developing countries—a name, though, that most love to hate. And if New Delhi, too, was allergic to her till very recently, it had good reason: it was Ms. Hills who named India under the Super 301 and Special 301 sections of the Omnibus Trade Act, which provide for punitive action against countries which follow policies inimical to U.S. economic interests. What the United States could not achieve within the multilateral framework of GATT was thus sought to be perpetrated through an Act that stank of unilateralism.

However, in the past few weeks, both India and the United States appear to have decided to go slow on the rhetoric of confrontation and instead focus on areas of commonality. Nowhere was this new atmosphere of understanding more noticeable than during the Union commerce minister, Mr. P. Chidambaram's recent visit to the United States. In a much-needed public relations exercise, the highly articulate Chidambaram did a commendable job of highlighting the sweeping trade and foreign investment policy changes introduced by the Narasimha Rao government; more important, he seemed to have made a favourable impression on Ms. Hills—to the extent that she agreed to visit New Delhi within a fortnight of the Indian minister's trip to Washington.

Though much is being read into what she said during her meetings with the Indian government and businessmen, the fact is that she said very little that was new. She neither gave India a clean chit, nor did she haul it over the coals. In any case, with India and the United States seeing eye-to-eye on most aspects of intellectual property rights, such as copyright (where India as a growing software exporter also has a stake) and trademarks (which is no longer a real issue now that multinationals are being actively wooed), there is little today that divides the two countries on trade related issues except patent rights. So far, India has refused to yield to U.S. pressure to change its laws so as to allow product patents instead of just process patents. The U.S. argument is that while its industry spends billions of dollars on research in order to develop a new product, all that Indian manufacturers do is get hold of the technical details which are filed with the patent office and make almost the same product but by a slightly different process, which it then gets registered as a separate patent; the pharmaceutical industry, in particular, has been accused of indulging in this form of "cheating." Whatever the merits or demerits of this argument, no Indian government can afford to ignore the fact that prices of essential drugs in this country are much lower than in the United States and most other countries which grant product patent. For the time being, though, both Ms. Hills and Mr. Chidambaram have agreed to let the issue lie. Whether this implies that the Sword of Damocles which has hung over India's head since May in the form of Special 301 is being removed remains to be seen. But viewed in the context of the overall improvement in Indo-U.S. relations in the recent past, there may be some cause for hope.

Acceptance of Terms 'Inevitable'

92AS0270C Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
10 Oct 91 p 6

[Editorial: "Tough Talk"]

[Text] Although an effort was made at the meetings held between the visiting U.S. Trade Representative, Mrs. Carla Hills, and the Indian Finance and Commerce Ministers to underplay the vexed issues of Special-301 action against India on patents, the basic disagreement between the two sides is so deep that it took no time for it to be aired publicly, mainly at the Press conference which Mrs. Hills held on 7 October. Indeed, the implicit threat held

out by the Americans was quite evident in her statement that Washington "would be watching the progress" on sorting out the issues of trade-related intellectual property rights (TRIPS) and investment measures (TRIMS) "very carefully" before taking a final decision on Special-301, the deadline for action expiring (after the final extension) at the end of February next year.

Whether this tough talk on her part was in any way connected with the protests held in New Delhi against her visit is not known, but the message she conveyed to the Indian Government leaders is clear enough, namely, that Washington will not be satisfied with anything less than a change in Indian patent laws which will make it easier and more profitable for U.S. pharmaceutical interests to operate in this country. From the point of view of a developed country like the USA, Mrs. Hills's stand is easily justifiable, her principal argument being that American companies have been losing between \$45 billion and \$60 billion a year on account of the theft of basic knowhow. No developing country would like to be in a similar position; and it is this fact which makes much of the opposition to the Special-301 stand on TRIPS pointless. Neither can it be argued convincingly that since Washington has preferred to maintain a low profile on the subject (in comparison with the attention being currently given to it) during the seventies and the greater part of this eighties, there is no obligation whatever on the part of the Indian authorities to take cognizance of the demands being made now to amend the Indian Patent Act of 1970.

The fact of the matter as regards Special-301 and Super-301 lies elsewhere, namely, in the realization that Mrs. Hills cannot expect to dictate to Indian leaders what their policy on patents and other subjects will be, not even under the threat of retaliatory action. Seen from this perspective, the demonstrations held against Mrs. Hills's visit served a purpose in carrying to Washington the right message. In any case, the Americans will be ill-advised to take any precipitate action because there are enough indications at the moment that the Narasimha Rao Government may, on its own, usher in changes in the patent law which will satisfy the demands being made by U.S. pharmaceutical interests. Perhaps the most telling comment on the entire episode has come from the chairman of a leading Indian pharmaceutical house who said while explaining the inevitability of the acceptance of the Special-301 terms on patents: "If we want to do business internationally, we cannot remain at a particular stage of development. We have to accept changes."

Blatant Pressure Alleged

92AS0270D Madras *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English
9 Oct 91 p 8

[Editorial "Carla Hills Disappoints"]

[Text] Ms. Carla Hills, the U.S. trade representative, has jolted hopes of strengthening Indo-U.S. economic relations by the total lack of understanding she showed in New Delhi for this country's aspirations. Her stance that what is good for the United States is good for India, in support of which Ms. Hills commended the Mexican agreement on

intellectual property rights (IPR) as a model for India, is extremely unfortunate. Worse, by tying the withdrawal of trade retaliation under Special 301 to the acceptance of U.S. dictates on IPR and trade related investment measures, Ms. Hills made clear the lengths to which the United States would go to pressure India to fall in line. This is contrary to the impression of America's willingness to accommodate India, fostered by Mr. P. Chidambaram, Commerce Minister, according to whom—on the patents issue—both countries have "agreed to let the matter rest where it stand." But the United States is in no mood to give and take. To let Indian exports, notably textiles, into the United States on a less restrictive basis in future, the champion of world free trade wants India to take steps which in its present stage of development it is in no position to take.

According to Ms. Hills, it is not enough that India is inviting foreign private investment with majority equity participation. It must withdraw the stipulation that dividend remittances need to be covered by tax-free export earnings! This despite India's severe foreign exchange crunch. Yet the United States and the other mature capitalist countries have blocked the proposal for the release of an adequate tranche of SDRs [special drawing rights] (or an unrequitable transfer of convertible currency by IMF) to needy developing nations. Nor is Ms. Hills satisfied with India's offer to increase the period of process patent and the royalty thereon. It is difficult to understand this stance considering the fact that India's exports of bulk drugs just about cover their imports. Ms. Hills wants patent cover for products, thus thwarting Indian industry's learning process. While the U.S. trade representative wants India to increase access to services from abroad, she is averse to allowing free entry to Indian computer professionals or construction personnel to enable them to complete job contracts in the United States, ostensibly because the latter issue concerns immigration! What is sauce for the goose is not sauce for the gander. In a world rapidly splitting into trading blocs, India will have to quickly develop reflexes to counter such blatant pressure tactic.

Pronouncements 'Vice Regal'

92AS0270E *New Delhi PATRIOT in English*
9 Oct 91 p 4

[Editorial: "Queen Carla in India"]

[Text] Ms. Carla Hills has deigned to visit India. That she would come had been bleatingly announced by Commerce Minister P. Chidambaram upon his return from Washington where he had been given a dressing down by the U.S. Trade Representative. Those unfamiliar with the protocol permissibility of the immense fuss made over Ms. Hills in India ought to know that she has, or she enjoys, the rank of a member of President George Bush's cabinet. In Indian terms, an unelected Minister, however grand may be the official's protocol standing, is but a senior official. But Ms. Hills, being the negotiator deciding the economic fate of the Third World countries in the Uruguay Round of trade talks between the cartel of the rich industrialised countries and the disparate rabble of poor countries, the latter largely the producers of primary produce or

exporters of simple manufactures like cloth or stitched garments, is no ordinary civil servant. Imperious in her awareness of the imperial U.S. presidency she represents, Mrs. Hills in India was vice-regal, and nearly royal, in her pronouncements. Even the royal "we" occurs often in the grim statements she uttered in reply to the pleadings of India's Ministers and industrialists. There is no public record of how she treats the more timorous senior Indian civil servants whose job it is to present the country's supplications to her from time to time. Her public statements in Delhi on trade relations between India and the USA dripped hauteur. Her audiences deserved what they got. Mr. Chidambaram, having promised in Washington surrender on the substance of what is being negotiated, was not by her side—or at least he was not visible—when she met a group of Indians euphemistically described as captains of Indian industry. There was a time when Indian industrialists manfully fought against Britain's discriminatory trade and industrial policies, and some of them stood their ground and eventually survived the regime of exploitation and unequal economic policies. But the spectacle of leading Indian industrialists grovelling at Ms. Carla Hills' feet in Delhi to wheedle out of her a word or two of what under the circumstances could only have been a worthless assurance was dispiriting. Ms. Hills had come to tell Indians with the dismissive finality that she would not extend the moratorium unless she was convinced that the Government of India would fall in with her dictates at the end of the reprieve she had granted. Her words were unrelenting. She was uncomprehending of the grave troubles the poverty-stricken Third World societies must bring upon themselves in order to meet her ultimatum. Ms. Hills was plainly hectoring. And, all our so-called captains of industry could do before her is to smirk, scrape their feet and genuflect as though they were in the 18th century Manchu royal court. Ms. Hills doubtless has by now a realistic estimate of her Indian interlocutors. She has no reason to doubt that a country which has gleefully accepted the debt trap as its long term economic shangrila cannot hold out too long on issues like the Intellectual Property Rights or foreign intrusion in India's nascent service industry. She knows she is dealing in India with a bunch of leaders, in politics and in the economy, who have no fight left in them, and they have all but surrendered.

New Steps in Military Cooperation With U.S.

New Pact Signed

92AS0269A *Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English*
13 Oct 91 p 1

[Article by S. Srinivasan]

[Text] New Delhi, 12 October: India and the United States are learnt to have signed an agreement to dramatically step up cooperation in the field of defence. The new agreement substantially increases the number of Indian Army officers to be trained in U.S. War schools. A similar proposal is being mooted for the Indian Navy.

So far Indian officials have routinely participated in International Military Education and Training (IMET) exchange programmes in very small numbers. The United

States subsidised their visits by granting to and from air tickets. In the new agreement, besides senior officers going for training in higher directions of war, a large number of junior officers, even of the rank of captain, would attend tactical courses. The United States may now also grant substantial amounts as stipend to the visitors.

The initiative matched proposals made by U.S. Army Lt. Gen. Claude Kicklighter (now retired), who had called for joint studies and activities by the Indian and U.S. armies. The Kicklighter proposals in themselves may not be earthshaking but an agreement of this kind could be a breakthrough for the Americans who have been trying for long to involve Indians in training programmes. The Indian Army chief, Gen. S.F. Rodrigues, discussed the issue during his recent U.S. visit.

India has been dragging its feet on signing any such agreement as it has been using a large quantity of Soviet equipment, and as a leading nonaligned nation has been keen to maintain equidistance between the two superpowers. According to analysts, the agreement was part of continuing efforts of the United States to build up a "lobby" of U.S.-trained officers in India.

It is not yet clear whether the arrangement arrived at would be reciprocal, as the existing arrangements have had an element of reciprocity, by which senior American officers would also visit India. But traditionally, bigger nations have always been more "large hearted" and that might be the case here. In the beginning, therefore, there may not be any matching reciprocity from the Americans.

The tactical courses are likely to be more on the technical side. The Indian officers do not need any training on the actual war tactics as they are sufficiently and, in some cases (such as in fighting insurgency) experienced than [as published] the Americans. The training would be more on the technical side, where the Indians are likely to get hands-on experience on computers on subjects like war games, logistic support, and communications. Another area could be in understanding nuclear concepts. It is not yet known whether the United States has agreed to declassify newer areas. If it does so, then India might be the first non-Nato country to get such access.

Indian defence analysts feel that the move could create a new "caste hierarchy" within the Army, with unfortunate consequences. In a well-known controversy over promotions, Rear-Admiral Vishnu Bhagwat, a serving naval officer, alleged in a petition before the Bombay High Court that there was a pro-United States tilt [as published] among certain senior naval officers.

Meanwhile, Admiral Charles Larsen, the Hawaii-based commander-in-chief of U.S. Pacific forces, will be visiting New Delhi nearly a year after visit of his predecessor, H. Hardisty. Admiral Larsen's visit appears to be a continuation of the series of high-level exchanges between the Indian and American armed forces. The former Air Chief, Air Chief Marshal, S.K. Mehra, had visited the United States prior to the visit of Gen. Rodrigues earlier this year.

Admiral Larsen, during his 16 October visit here, is likely to take up once again another American goal—that of joint exercises between the Indian and U.S. navies, both which operate in Indian Ocean region. The United States has first broached this idea in 1989 during the U.S. visit of the then defence minister, Mr. K.C. Pant. The minister had declined the proposal on the plea that it would affect India's non-aligned status.

Scope of Pact Expanded

92AS0269B Madras THE HINDU in English
23 Oct 91 p 1

[Boldface words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 22 October: India and the United States are now understood to have agreed to expand the scope of their proposed military cooperation to draw into its purview the Air Force and the Navy also, making for a comprehensive overall package.

Until now the American Kicklighter proposals envisaging cooperation in the military field between the two countries, to which India gave the go-ahead during the visit to the United States last August of the Army Chief, Gen. S.F. Rodrigues, had only considered expanded cooperation between the two armies.

It was agreed to widen the ambit to include both the Navy and the Air Force during the five-day visit here last week of Admiral Chuck Larson, the commander-in-chief of the U.S. Forces in the Pacific. However, no concrete agreement laying down specifics has so far been worked out.

Not unexpected: Knowledgeable sources suggest Admiral Larson came with the 'offer' to widen plans for military cooperation to go beyond the range of the armies of the two countries, and the suggestion met with positive response. Indeed, the U.S. offer was not entirely unexpected and had been speculated on.

The Kicklighter proposals have been advanced in the wake of the changing global scenario. The last time the Indian Navy sailed in a mutually compatible relationship with the Western navies was back in 1964 under a programme named 'Operation Shiksha.'

Steering council meet: The precise agenda for the tie-up between the two navies and the air forces may become available in January next when Lt. Gen. Johnny Corns, the American Army Commander of the U.S. Pacific Forces, is scheduled to pay a follow-up visit to this country. That is when the executive Steering Council set up to guide the incipient Indo-U.S. military relationship is scheduled to have its inaugural meeting.

But sources here appear fairly clear that the overall military ties to be established between India and the United States will in the immediate context be concerned primarily with training and exchanges so that the three services of the two countries get to know one another.

Limited scope: While the training programme for the two armies has already been elaborated in some detail, this is not the case with the air force and the navy component of the plan. At any rate, the scope for training activity for the

two navies and the air forces is by its very nature expected to be more restricted than the armies, given the much higher level of technology use of the fighting forces in the air and on the seas as compared to the ground. In spite of this, it is felt here, the opportunity provided allows scope for skills formation.

New Technology Sought

92AS0269C Bombay *THE SUNDAY TIMES* in English
3 Nov 91 pp 1, 7

[Text] New Delhi, 2 November: A crucial aspect of Indo-U.S. defence co-operation, which was discussed both during the army chief General S.F. Rodrigues' visit to Washington and the recent visit of the U.S. Pacific command supreme Admiral Chuck Larson to India, will be Washington's increased assistance to our defence forces in the field of electronic warfare and war-winning aids required in a fast moving battle, being referred to as "force multipliers" or "invisible assets," according to sources. This has been referred to by the defence minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar, as the "modernisation and upgradation" of defence equipment.

The magnitude of U.S. assistance may be gauged from the fact that "invisible assets" worth \$400 million were purchased in 1990-91 from America, which is ten times the average annual import from that country in a decade. These included passive intelligence material and the IVM 30900 mainframe computer, along with vision work stations and associated software. This is purportedly for use in advanced computer-aided design and computer-aided manufacture work on the light combat aircraft, but can be employed in more ways.

The Gulf war has put pressure on India for more U.S. assistance in "invisible assets" as most of the Soviet-made Iraqi equipment was compromised during the recent Gulf war. India has over Rs.[rupees]5,000 crore worth of Soviet equipment.

The U.S.-led coalition forces during the Gulf war employed electronic warfare to the hilt. It was used for surveillance and target acquisition, identification of friend or foe, engagement and destruction of hostile targets, command, control, intelligence gathering and forces management, degrading hostile electronic devices and command structures, integrated computerised fire control systems and night firing devices.

With most of the American electronic systems having been compromised as the Soviets would definitely have monitored the Gulf war, the Pentagon is expected to soon upgrade its existing "force multipliers."

"With the Pentagon bound to underwrite its electronic equipment employed in the Gulf war to keep itself ahead of the Soviets, India should acquire available U.S. technology, even if it is comparatively vintage to stabilise its existing technology base," observed a top source. The eventual use of this acquired U.S. technology will be the responsibility of the defence research and development

organisation (DRDO) to produce indigenous stuff to preclude fear of technology compromise, if the donor country turns inimical, observed sources.

The war-winning aids listed to be negotiated with the United States include night-fighting capability equipment and the availability of the American satellite system for both intelligence purposes and meteorological requirements. Night-fighting capabilities consist of image-intensifying and thermal imaging sights. These proved their worth in the Gulf war by providing vision to coalition troops much ahead of their forward lines. Thermal imagers can see through total darkness, rain, dust, smoke and haze and proved ideal for weapon sighting and combat observation tasks.

As the troops mostly operate at night, map reading is a problem. This was solved through the United States' global positioning system (GPS) based on satellite, which provided exact position to the fast-moving troops in undemarcated desert. Moreover, the U.S. advanced meteorological satellite provided accurate weather conditions needed for firing weapon systems.

"India will like to avail the facilities of the U.S. satellites in geo-stationary orbits and geodetic satellites the former to provide intelligence and weather information and the latter to give accuracy to the maps," observed a source. This will be useful in target updates, target analysis and map updatings.

In so far as the increased exchange of officers between the two countries under the Indo-U.S. defence co-operation is concerned, this has been necessitated by the fact that the nearly 8,000 Pakistani troops who joined the U.S.-led coalition not only witnessed the planning sequence and the brilliant battle management of General Schwarzkopf's unified command, but also would have recorded the operational draw-backs of the Soviet equipment with Iraq, according to informed sources.

The Pakistanis saw first hand the battle management and the operational execution of a simplified, integrated and flexible plan of the U.S.-led allies against Iraq. This, when it had multinational forces and logistics planning, was done for nearly 60 days.

Council Wants India To Sign Paris Convention

92AS0294F Bangalore *DECCAN HERALD* in English
22 Nov 91 p 14

[Text] New Delhi, 21 Nov (PTI)—The Indo-U.S. Joint Business Council (JBC) on Wednesday suggested that India should sign the Paris convention for intellectual property rights (IPR) even if it desired to do so with "such reservations" as might be necessary in its national interests.

Addressing a joint news conference here, the leader of the visiting U.S. delegation, Mr. Donald M. Kendall and Mr. Raunaq Singh, leader of the Indian side, said equal duration for all patents should be provided for in accordance with global standards and protection of service marks should be introduced.

Co-chairman of the Indo-U.S. JBC Paul Griesse said Indian Commerce Minister Chidambaram's remarks at the JBC meeting that India would consider granting product patents if the trading partner undertakes to manufacture the drugs in India at an affordable price, were "encouraging" signs, compared to India's stand on patents in the past.

Mr. Kendall said the economic policy liberalisation of the Indian Government over the past four months was quite impressive and said if implementation of policies was quick, India could attract between \$4 to 5 billion of foreign investment in the next 5 to 6 years.

He said the JBC meeting enabled both the sides to identify irritants in the two-way trade and said the two sides felt that working groups should be set up with the U.S. and Indian representatives to identify major and minor irritants in promotion of trade and co-operation.

Mr. Kendall said while the big U.S. companies were aware of the changes taking place in India, small U.S. companies which needed direction to invest in India were however not kept as informed as the bigger ones. This lacuna should be removed, he said.

Coca Cola

Asked about the entry of Coca Cola into India with higher foreign equity, Mr. Kendall, who is also the chairman of the U.S. company Pepsi, said he was assured by Indian Finance Minister Manmohan Singh that the level playing field was fair to all.

Mr. Kendall refused to disclose whether Pepsi has any plans to increase its equity stake in its Indian venture.

Mr. Raunaq Singh said the JBC meeting proved a "satisfactory" one for both sides and it was decided to use JBC as a vehicle for facilitating trade expansion and technology transfer for disseminating information on problems and prospects to the Government and business entrepreneurs.

The U.S. side recommended that there should be patent protection for products in the field of pharmaceuticals, chemicals and food processing and that the compulsory licensing provisions in the Indian patent laws should be confined to situations of national emergency.

Demand for UN Security Council Expansion Reiterated

92AS0265A Madras THE HINDU in English
26 Oct 91 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, 25 October: The Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. Eduardo Faleiro, has reiterated India's demand for the expansion of the U.N. Security Council. Speaking on the occasion of the 46th anniversary of the United Nations, he highlighted the non-aligned position on democratisation of the United Nations recently adopted at its ministerial meeting in Accra. Mr. Faleiro said the decision-making process in the United Nations needed to become more democratic and transparent.

While emphasising the need for reforms to correspond with the changing aspirations of the people globally, Mr. Faleiro cautioned that this should not lead to a fundamental alteration of the U.N. charter. The Minister especially highlighted the need to safeguard sovereignty. Mr. Faleiro said 'enthusiasm for reform should not result in curtailing sovereignty or intrusive interference in the internal affairs of States.' [quotation marks as published]

Commentary Views Indo-EC Pact on Joint Ventures

92AS0294C Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
16 Nov 91 p 14

[Text] New Delhi, 15 Nov (DH News Service)—India and the European Commission on Thursday signed three conventions for promoting joint ventures with the latter extending assistance up to \$ One Million [as published] per project.

These agreements signed by the EC with the heads of the Exim [export-import] Bank of India, the Industrial Development Bank of India and the Industrial Credit Investment Corporation of India, will mainly support ventures by small medium enterprises, Director-General for North-South Relations in the EC Juan Prat, told journalists here.

The three conventions, which are a part of the EC international investment partners scheme, will be used for the identification of potential projects and partners, to take up pre-launch operations, finance the capital requirements and to provide training and management expertise for the joint-ventures, Mr. Prat said.

India has assured that this fund would enjoy a FERA [Foreign Exchange Regulation Act]-neutral status and that all income of the EC in India including dividend income, capital gains on sale of equity loans, and equity or other investments will be tax exempt, he said.

Though the fund has been in operation for several years now in Latin America, the Mediterranean region and Asia, it is for the first time that Indian financial institutions will be handling it, the official said.

Earlier, the joint Indo-EC Commission discussed various aspects of co-operation between the two including trade matters pertaining to the generalised system of preferences (GSP), anti-dumping duties and trade in textile products.

While the discussions were very thorough and fruitful, "all demands of the Indian side have been met in one way or another," Mr. Prat said.

India enjoys a very special position in the EC since it was the first to recognise the EC, Mr. Prat said.

On the rigid EC stand on the GSP system, Mr. Prat said the Community was ready to renovate the system but could not do so as multilateral talks were on presently. As soon as the talks are over the GSP will be analysed keeping in view the Indian concerns, he said.

However, it should be noted that India is the only country to utilise up to 65 per cent of the GSP funding possibilities which is highest among any other country, he said.

During the joint commission discussions, the EC side expressed its appreciation of the Indian measures at liberalisation which have brought the country closer to mainstream international trading system, a common statement said.

It was also decided that co-operation in the field of standards and quality testing all remain the top priority.

The two sides also decided to establish a technical working group to explore the possibilities of upgrading the economic, financial and technical co-operation in an integrated manner for a long-term relationship between India and the EC.

Relations With USSR Reported, Considered

Currency Exchange Problems

92AS0278A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
15 Oct 91 p 6

[Article: "Soviets Prefer Barter for RSP Update"]

[Text] Calcutta, Oct. 14: The Soviet bidders for the modernisation of the Steel Authority of India Limited's (SAIL) Rourkela unit have indicated their preference for payment in kind, or counter-trade. "Indian goods are cheap," said the Tyazpromexport [TPE?] representative in India, Mr. D. D. Romani, "and in the Soviet Union, there's a shortage of consumer goods."

Tyazpromexport is the leader of a six-member consortium of Soviet engineering and construction companies, bidding for four of the six contracts for which SAIL has invited tenders from abroad.

The international contracts are for some key projects, such as continuous casting machines for steel melting shop I and II, construction of a basic oxygen furnace and sinter plant II. The global contracts are worth about half the Rs[rupees]2,461 crores that the total modernisation programme will cost.

The consortium's prime advantage over the German, British and Italian steel-makers, also on the run for the contracts, was the rupee trade with the Soviet Union. Lately, however, commerce ministry circles have been apprehending an end to rupee-trade with the Soviet Union, once the annual trade protocol with that country expires in December.

The foreign exchange crunch within the Soviet Union have raised fears that the Russians may seek hard currency payment. The Centre has been reported to be in favour of counter-trade agreements between individual enterprises. "Our governments are not talking of currency, but of counter-trade," Mr. Romani reminded reporters in the city, "and we are interested in Indian goods." Members of the Soviet consortium and its Indian partners, Mukund Limited, Simplex, NPCC [expansion not given] and BHEL [Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd.] met reporters, at what was TPE's first Press conference in India, on Saturday.

Mr. Stanislav G. Tolstov, deputy director of Uralmash, which proposes to manufacture equipment and machinery for most of the contracts, said that the consortium would

offer a supplier's credit on soft terms. The German companies bidding for the Rourkela steel plant update programme have offered a soft loan from the development bank, KfW [Reconstruction Bank] and the British firm, Davy McKee has offered a buyer's credit. The supplier's credit from Uralmash, which makes a billion roubles worth of metallurgical, mining and oil extraction machinery a year, therefore, squares the Soviets with their competitors.

Mr. Romani assured reporters that political changes in the Soviet Union or a new economic order there, would not prevent the members of the consortium from meeting their contractual obligations. The six constituents of the Soviet consortium, Tyazhpromexport, UKR Gipromet, Gipromet, Uralmash, Vostokmetallurgmontage and Azovmash are based in Russian and Uralmash in Ukraine. "Our consortium is not controlled by the government, ours is a commercial venture," Mr. Romani said.

Mr. Romani pointed out that since 1988, Soviet enterprises have the right to establish "foreign economic relations" on their own and an Act in 1989 allows them "full economic independence."

Tyazhpromexport, incidentally, has supplied technical assistance in the building of the public sector Bhilai, Bokaro and Visakhapatnam steel plants.

Instrumentation for Soviet Refinery

92AS0278B Madras *THE HINDU* in English
16 Oct 91 p 7

[Article: "Indian Instrumentation for Huge Oil Refinery in Soviet Union"]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 15—A massive oil refinery with advanced Indian instrumentation will be commissioned in Ukraine in the Soviet Union early next year. Mr. K. Vasudevan, Chairman and Managing Director of the public sector Instrumentation Limited told reporters here on Monday that the Turnkey project, which was for \$10 million initially, would now involve \$12 million. The software for the project had been prepared in Russian language, he said.

Mr. Vasudevan recalled that the Instrumentation Limited, which itself was set up with Soviet assistance, was now in a position to provide this major input to one of the largest refineries in the world.—UNI

Ties Need Redefining

92AS0278C Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 5 Nov 91 p 6

[Article: "Will Special Ties With USSR Survive?"]

[Text] Moscow, November 4 (PTI)—A big question weighing on the minds of Indians and friends of India in Moscow today is whether the special status of Indo-Soviet relations, symbolised by the friendship treaty, extended for another 20 years only a few days before the putsch of August 18, will survive perestroika currently changing the character of the Soviet Union.

The general view is that while a solid basis of tradition and experience as well as coincidence of interests exist for these relations to continue and grow in a class of its own, these have to be redefined to fit in with the altered environment in which neither side can any longer take the other for granted.

The Soviet Union today is in the grip of uncertainties. The gigantic changes sweeping over the country are modifying, sometimes beyond recognition, domestic and foreign policy goals and priorities.

India has to get used to the reality that a single point in Moscow with which it has dealt in conducting its multifaceted relations so far, has ceased to exist. In its place India has to contend with multiple centres and multiple interests, besides keen and powerful external competition.

It has hitherto been sheltered by treaties and annual plans which defined value, volume and variety of goods and services to be exchanged.

Such exchanges, moreover, were insulated against fluctuations of foreign currency market and problems of convertible currency reserves through the expedient of a refined barter arrangement and predetermined rupee-rouble exchange rate.

Formally these arrangements have not been rescinded. But for reasons that are not difficult to find, the Soviet Union has for the first time in history defaulted in meeting its international commitments.

Defence supplies to India are behind schedule and shipment of important commodities, including newsprint, petroleum products, steel and coal, remain unfulfilled.

Soviet exports should be well in excess of Rs[rupees]3,000 crores this year for India to be able to meet its obligations, including debt-servicing.

The rupee-rouble exchange rate is wholly irrational. To put it mildly, rouble is officially sold at three rates.

Yet another important and related problem is that whole enterprises and republics are keen on trading with India on their own. Clearing arrangements do not exist to cover these transactions.

Despite the first hasty Indian reactions to the August putsch, which may have conveyed unintended signals, balance would now seem to have been restored in Moscow-Delhi equation.

The minister of external affairs, Mr. Madhavsingh Solanki, intends visiting Moscow in the middle of November. He is bound to meet Mr. Mikhail Gorbachov and Mr. Boris Yeltsin. The Russian leader has just gone on record that it was essential to meet commitments for military deliveries to India.

This must be reassuring to India, unsure so far of Mr. Yeltsin's personal approach to ties with India.

The Indian minister may also seek to establish contact with leaders of republics which are seeking separate identities in the conduct of economic and political relations with countries abroad.

The focus today in Moscow as partners in trade and industry is not on India. A country that is breaking away from over 70 years of centrally planned economy to free market, the Soviet Union looks to those who have made their grade in market economy to be guiding stars and partners. India is not one of them.

However, there are two important factors which should temper the sudden and wholesale westward shift of which awareness is growing in academic circles and is sure to influence policy makers.

The first of these is that the west is sharply divided over the extent of help that it might give to new Russia. There are influential sections of opinion in the United States that fear a powerful democratic Russia with expansionist designs might be a greater threat to the United States than a closed society, with similar designs.

A democratic Russia and other republics which were part of the Soviet Union will have to settle for transition to fullscale capitalism through a period of mixed economy.

India is the only country which is trying to reach out to liberal economic structure from a mixed base.

This coincidence of interest is expected to play a role compensating partially for changes in Soviet-China and Soviet-U.S. relations that could have had a negative bearing on India's place in Kremlin.

Central republics are keen on securing Indian or Asian expertise in building their economies. Kazakhstan already has an adviser from the Republic of Korea. At least two republics are known to have asked for Indian experts.

New areas are thus opening up for co-operation and exchanges which can help preserve and develop a relationship that has been of mutual benefit for four decades.

Trade Delegation to USSR Asian Republics

92AS0273A Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN
in English 27 Oct 91 p 3

[Text] India is sending an official delegation to the Central Asian Republics of the USSR to hold talks on exploring trade links between the republics and India. This decision is based on a proposal by Mr. P. Chidambaram, Union Minister of State for Commerce, who conveyed this information to the former commerce Minister, Mr. Priya Ranjan Das Munshi, in reply to a letter. Mr. Das Munshi released the Minister's reply and his letter in Calcutta on Saturday.

Mr. Chidambaram, in his reply to Mr. Das Munshi's appeal for taking a fresh look in reshaping trade policies in view of the fast changing political scenario in the USSR and the Eastern Bloc, said that India would have to "carefully devise an appropriate trade strategy" in establishing trade links directly and independently with the Central Asian republics. He added that "our future trade

strategy would also require to be suitably nuanced to take into account, on one hand, the individual peculiarities of the Eastern Bloc countries, and, on the other hand, the changes in the European Community and Japan and China." In this regard, the bilateral joint commissions with Czechoslovakia and Romania would be meeting later this year when he would hold "high-level discussions" with their Governments, Mr. Chidambaram added.

Mr. Chidambaram stated that the Soviet Union, "given its size and our long-standing multifaceted relations is a case apart" and we are fully alive to the critical importance of the Soviet economy for our exports and also as a source of many important items of import.

Pointing out that "the mergence of different Soviet republics as major foreign trading entities in their own right is also a new development" he wrote that "it is possible to develop mutually beneficial commercial and economic relations" with them and we are "fine tuning our export strategy to that end."

Regional Affairs

Pawar Meets Press, Notes Pakistan Violations

92AS0259A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 28 Oct 91 pp 1, 13

[Article by Chinu Panchal]

[Text] Nagpur, 27 October: The Union defence minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar, disclosed here today that Pakistani forces had launched a major offensive on a military base in the Kargil sector of Kashmir yesterday, seriously injuring six army jawans. Heavy mortar and shells were used by the Pakistanis.

Talking to pressmen, Mr. Pawar said that the offensive was a violation of the recent agreement arrived at in Islamabad between the two nations.

"Our jawans have repulsed the attack with casualties to the Pakistanis," he said and added, "Our men had seen the invaders carrying away five bodies."

The defence minister said that army personnel of both countries had met at Islamabad on 18 and 19 October, following talks between the two Prime Ministers in Harare. The decision not to attack each other's military bases was taken. "What happened at the Kargil sector yesterday is a violation of the said agreement," he remarked.

Referring to secessionist activities in Kashmir, Mr. Pawar said that Pakistan's game seemed to be to wage a "low-cost" war in Kashmir that would destroy its economic and social life. The government has definite information about Pakistan's plans to send around 6,000 persons trained in subversive warfare into Kashmir between June and November this year. Acting on this information the border has been sealed and vigilance intensified. The Indian army has been instructed to shoot the infiltrators at sight.

PTI adds:

Replying to question, Mr. Pawar ruled out a pre-emptive attack on Pakistan, saying that India wanted peace and had

no intention to start a war with its neighbour. "When they do attack us, however, we will give them a fitting reply" he said.

India will "deal ruthlessly" if Pakistan continued to play mischief by infiltration and arming militants in Kashmir, he warned.

On Indo-U.S. relations, he remarked that they had considerably improved as was evident from the stand that the United States had taken not allow the Kashmir issue to be internationalised at the United Nations.

The minister said that India had also apprised the United States about the "nefarious" designs of Pakistan to create turmoil in India. The Pacific navy chief of the U.S. Admiral Larson, who had recently visited India was shown the sophisticated weapons seized from the Kashmiri militants.

The situation in Assam has considerably improved as "Operation Rhino" is showing positive results. Replying to a question, Mr. Pawar said he was not in favour of the army being used to tackle internal communal disturbances and issues such as the Ram-Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute.

Addressing Congress workers later, Mr. Pawar reiterated that the killings of innocent people in Punjab and Kashmir were the result of Pakistan's evil designs.

"Once the influx of Pakistanis and their supply of arms to the terrorists stops completely, some people who have been supporting them will realise that there is going to be no Khalistan and that India's integrity cannot be threatened," Mr. Pawar said.

Asylum Denied to Burmese MP Refugees

92AS0262A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 5 Nov 91 p 11

[Article by Debashish Munshi]

[Text] Aizawl, 4 November: The Indian government is understood to have declined political asylum to four members of the Myanmar parliament [MP], who have been living here in exile for the last ten months, but has agreed to treat them as refugees.

The MPs who arrived here after the military takeover in Myanmar, have now been asked to move to a refugee camp at Champhai in eastern Mizoram by the state home department.

Top Mizoram government sources told the TOINS [Times of India News Service] here today that the centre had turned down the request of the MPs for political asylum on the plea that it did not wish to create any misunderstanding with the government in Myanmar. The Union government, however, has offered them all humanitarian assistance given to refugees, the sources said.

The MPs include Dr. Tint Swe and Mr. U. Than Sein of the National League for Democracy (NLD), of which this year's Nobel peace prize winner, Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi is the secretary-general. The other two MPs are Dr. Zahl

Thank of the Chin National League for Democracy and Mr. U. Lian UK, an independent.

They plan to go to New Delhi soon and make a renewed appeal for political asylum. They said they had not yet received any official communication from the government on their request for asylum.

Dr. Tint Swe, who was elected to the Burmese Parliament for Pale II constituency in Upper Myanmar, said: "We know India is sympathetic to our cause."

The National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB), also referred to as the government-in-exile, was keen on setting up a liaison office in New Delhi, the MP said. The NCGUB headed by Dr. Sein Win, who was appointed prime minister after the 1990 elections in Myanmar, has been functioning from its headquarters at Manerplaw in the Karen state of eastern Myanmar.

Dr. Tint Swe said he and a group of NLD activists had fled their homes after being declared "wanted" by the military rulers and had arrived in Mizoram in December 1990, after walking through jungles and hilly terrain for several days.

Since then, he has been keeping in touch with the NCGUB headquarters through letters and the radio. He has also been a father figure for a group of Myanmar students living in exile. The students had yesterday organised a rally in honour of Ms. Suu Kyi at a camp in nearby Zemabawk.

Dr. Tint Swe who is a qualified physician has requested the Indian government for a licence to practice medicine here, but there has been no response so far. "We need money to survive. All these days we have been living on the hospitality of friends," he said.

The 30 students living at Zemabawk, who had fled their country after the military crackdown in 1988, earn a living through manual labour in and around Aizawl. But their determination to continue their struggle for democracy in their country was evident from the manner in which they organised the rally yesterday.

'Indo-Sri Lanka Economic Cooperation' Viewed
92AS0294A Secunderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 5 Nov 91 p 18

[Text] New Delhi, 4 Nov (UNI)—There is need for immediately setting up special trading arrangement between India and Sri Lanka for increasing the level of bilateral trade and improving other aspects of economic cooperation, says a study.

The recommendation has been made in a just-concluded study entitled "Indo-Sri Lanka economic cooperation—an operational programme" by the Research and Information System (RIS) for the nonaligned and other developing countries.

The study was conducted in collaboration with the World Institute of Development Economic Research, Helsinki, and the Ministry of Industries, Science and Technology, Government of Sri Lanka. The study was conducted by Dr.

V.R. Panchamukhi, Director RIS and Dr. V.L. Rao and Dr. Nagesh Kumar from the faculty of RIS.

"An institutional mechanism is recommended to initiate discussions on evolving suitable trade preferences for expanding trade flows between the two countries," the study says.

It says future programme of cooperation between India and Sri Lanka involving lines of credit should keep in view two constraints in its operation. These are the stipulation that the Sri Lankan importer should deposit counterpart funds to the full value of the allocation with the Central Bank of Sri Lanka and the non-eligibility of Indian exporters for exim [export-import] scrips for exports under the line of credit.

The study says it may be worthwhile to provide the line of credit to a development finance institution in Sri Lanka which could solve the first constraint. The Indian Government should look into the issue of providing exim scrip incentive for exports under the line of credit. The Exim Bank of India may also consider extending lines of credit to finance exports of Indian capital goods especially machinery and equipment regularly to Sri Lanka.

An important area of bilateral cooperation could be the setting up of an institute of technology and management in Sri Lanka with technical assistance from the Indian Institute of Technologies and the Indian Institutes of Management.

As the experience is somewhat similar in India and Sri Lanka with regard to rural credit and banking institutions, the two countries should together attempt to improve the functioning of rural banking and credit institutions.

The study says as the information gap is one of the most important constraints holding back fuller exploitation of potential of economic cooperation, increased cooperation among the media and news agencies of the two countries is recommended.

To facilitate intensive cooperation between the two countries the study says it is desirable that visa formalities are relaxed. The two governments should consider granting multiple-entry visas to bonafide businessmen.

The study says Sri Lankan authorities should consider removing irritants arising out of exchange control regulations such as those restricting travel for attending board meetings of subsidiary companies and repatriation of proceeds of sale of properties.

In order to facilitate business and other travel between the two countries, a scheme of limited convertibility of local currencies through the Asian Clearing Union (ACU) could be worked out to eliminate the need for hard currencies.

Regarding shipping and transport, the study says steps are needed to start direct flights between New Delhi and Colombo and have a favourable freight structure for Indo-Sri Lanka trade to tap the benefits of geographical contiguity fully.

The study suggests setting up of a revolving fund on which Indian joint ventures abroad could be drawn upon for their financing needs.

Indo-Iranian Bilateral Trade Relations Stressed

92AS0294B Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
11 Nov 91 p 9

[Text] Teheran, 10 Nov (PTI)—India and Iran today called for giving a new thrust to their bilateral relations and promoting peace and stability in the region.

In his opening remarks at the fifth Indo-Iran Joint Commission meeting here, External Affairs Minister Mahavsinh Solanki regretted that in the past few years "incidental happenings and inadequate perceptions" had clouded relations between the two countries.

"This has hampered bilateral cooperation and prevented Iran and India from discharging the responsibilities that they can together undertake for promoting regional stability and from projecting on international fora our shared concerns for the well-being of our people," the Minister said.

Mr. Solanki expressed the hope that the two-day meeting of the joint commission, being held after a gap of four years, would help the two countries in overcoming these shortcomings and inject a new vitality in their bilateral ties.

His Iranian counterpart Ali Akbar Velayati said, considering the two countries' adherence to each other's sovereignty and independence and their effective and basic roles to ensure security in West Asia, "Iran and India are in a position to introduce practical ways to enable the regional countries to guarantee peace and stability in their region."

Mr. Solanki said India's new economic policies could help the two countries in enhancing and strengthening their economic and trade relations. Referring to Iran's plan to reconstruct and restructure its economy, Mr. Solanki, who arrived in Teheran last evening, said India saw in it many opportunities for bilateral co-operation.

Crude Import

Mr. Solanki said India was willing to stabilise and even enhance its offtake of Iranian crude oil. But, he said due to the balance of payments problems, New Delhi wanted Teheran to enhance its imports from India.

Mr. Solanki said the new global economic situation "makes it incumbent on countries like ours to reduce their dependence on the world economy and increase the dependence on regional economies."

SAARC: Commentary Sees Leadership Role for India

92AS0254D Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
4 Nov 91 p 8

[Article by P.S. Jayaramu: "The Forthcoming SAARC Summit; There's Much India Can Do"]

[Text] The sixth summit of the Heads of States Governments of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) will begin on the November 7 at Sri Lanka. It is heartening to note that Sri Lanka which should have hosted the previous summit has finally succeeded in making Colombo the venue for the next one.

As one of the most important gatherings of South Asian leaders in the post-cold war era the summit is likely to offer opportunities and challenges to the leaders of the region.

Achievements

Before getting down to an analysis of these challenges and opportunities, we should take stock of the achievements of SAARC, the most notable of which relates to its organisational structure.

Although the Association is only six years old, SAARC has managed to create a four-tier organisational structure, consisting at the top of the summit meetings of Heads of States Governments followed by a SAARC Council of Foreign Ministers, a Standing Committee of Foreign Secretaries which actually carries out the bulk of the activity both before and after the summits and below them the Technical Committees of officials and experts. Not to be forgotten is the existence of the permanent Secretariat which has been doing good work at Kathmandu since 1987.

However, SAARC has not shown the same progress in terms of its geographical representation. Afghanistan and Burma which are actually South Asian entities cannot and should not be kept out of SAARC any longer. In any case, it is two years since the Soviet Union withdrew its troops from Afghanistan and the latter has demonstrated its independence in functioning.

The SAARC leaders would be well advised to rise above narrow politico-strategic considerations and arrive at a consensus on the question of Afghanistan's membership. India, under the leadership of the experienced Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao should be able to make the SAARC leaders agree to an acceptable solution in this regard.

The other notable success of SAARC pertains to the rapid expansion of the areas chosen for regional co-operation. Thanks to the successful deliberations of the previous summit meetings, SAARC has come to include a whole variety of subjects affecting the lives of the peoples and nations of South Asia like arts and culture, postal services, transport and tourism, education including scientific and technological co-operation, control of drug trafficking, environmental protection, disaster management, food security, fulfilment of basic needs, audio-visual exchanges, sharing of planning experiences and co-ordinating strategies on international economic issues affecting them.

On many of the subjects, specially scientific and technological co-operation and planning, India, as the most developed nation of the region, should play a leading role in helping its smaller neighbours. It is here that the problem arises. India's initiatives are often suspected by its neighbours as efforts to extend its hegemony over them. At

the same time, if India adopts a low profile it will be construed as not being interested in the growth of its neighbours.

It calls for a lot of caution and maturity on the part of the South Asian leaders to separate their conflicting politico-strategic issues from regional co-operation endeavours.

Travel

In building bridges of understanding among the people of South Asia, SAARC would do well to facilitate greater and unrestricted travel between and among the various sections of its populace. South Asian leaders made a good beginning in this regard at the Islamabad summit by providing for visa-free travel for Members of Parliament and Supreme Court judges. At the Male summit last year, the facility was extended to journalists and artists. It is hoped that at Colombo a decision will be taken to extend the facility to academicians and sports persons.

Needless to say, bridges of understanding between and among the South Asian nations can be built on a lasting basis only by improving the popular perceptions of each other and people to people interaction.

In pursuance of its past decisions, SAARC should also provide opportunities for non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to involve themselves in strengthening regional co-operation.

Also, the South Asian Food Security system which came into operation thanks to such a decision at the Kathmandu summit, needs to be strengthened. The South Asian buffer stock of food which is a novel idea should be augmented in the coming years and made available to the needy in times of flood and famine.

Self-Reliance

Collective self-reliance in such vital areas is a fundamental prerequisite for promoting regional co-operation in other areas. In this connection, the setting up of a South Asian Disaster Management Group is a laudable step. Scientifically planned efforts at effective control of floods would go a long way in ensuring the prosperity of the region.

SAARC has also shown considerable progress in the establishment of several research centres which provide the much needed intellectual and professional inputs for implementing several of the regional co-operation programmes. Notable among them are the Agricultural Information Centre in Bangladesh, a SAARC meteorological research centre in India and, the most visible of all, the SAARC Audio-Visual Exchange (SAVE).

More than anything else, it is heartening to note that the SAARC leaders agreed at Male last year to India's consistent pleas since 1985, for including in the regional co-operation agenda core areas of economic activities like trade, finance, industry and energy. It is noteworthy that Pakistan which had opposed the inclusion of economic issues fearing Indian domination, fell in line with the Indian position at Male.

The South Asian leaders should reaffirm their commitment to this cause at Colombo and more importantly initiate concrete measures to promote intra-regional trade and industrial co-operation. It would be in the fitness of things if they consider at Colombo the need for the setting up of a South Asian Bank for Reconstruction and Industrial Development (SABRID), drawing contributions from the regional States towards its initial capital and establishing links with agencies like the Asian Development Bank (ADB) gradually. Such a bank would be able to assist the smaller nations in matters of industrial finance and development.

The South Asian leaders should also explore the possibility of setting up joint ventures in West Asia, South-East Asia and the African continent.

India and Pakistan, which have the capability to do so, could work together in this vital area setting aside their politico-strategic differences. Also, the South Asian leaders should lose no time in functioning unitedly for reviving the North-South dialogue which has been stalemated for some time now.

As far as the Colombo summit is concerned, bilateral issues are likely to be raised. In all probability, Pakistan might raise the Kashmir issue, as it did at the Harare CHOGM [Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting]. The Tamil issue in Indo-Sri Lankan relations may also come up for discussion. The dawn of the post cold war era, when the United States and the USSR are clearly unwilling to fuel conflicts in South Asia, should be taken advantage of, specially by India and Pakistan, to agree to a negotiated settlement of their bilateral problems. At a more fundamental level, India and Pakistan should agree on the need for arms control and freezing of defence expenditures as they cannot afford the luxury of an arms race.

Bright Future

Although political and security matters have been kept out of the SAARC agenda, they cannot and should not be ignored any longer. After all, the leaders have used the summit meetings, more so the 'retreat' sessions, to hold informal parleys to ease tensions in their bilateral relations.

In sum, it needs to be recognised that SAARC has a bright future if only its leaders display the necessary commitment to strengthen regional co-operation and the prospects of peace in South Asia.

Internal Affairs

Shiv Sena Criticized for Resorting to Violence

92AS0254B Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
4 Nov 91 p 8

[Article: "Check the Sena"; italicized words as published]

[Text] Emboldened by its successful blackmail of the Government of Maharashtra over the planned one-day cricket match in Bombay between India and Pakistan, the Shiv Sena has begun using its muscle power. Supporters of

the Sena last week vandalised the office of the Bombay-based Marathi daily, *Mahanagar*, and attacked some of its staff members in the office. The Shiv Sena cannot tolerate criticism. *Mahanagar* has strongly attacked the boycott call given by the Sena supremo Mr. Bal Thackeray, describing it as part of a strategy to recover support in the State which it has been losing to the Bharatiya Janata Party. The Shiv Sena has consistently shown itself as a party that has no respect for democratic traditions though it has not hesitated to use parliamentary democracy, whenever it suited its purpose, to advance its own interests. If the attack on the paper was bad enough, the subsequent assault on a procession protesting against the vandalism in the *Mahanagar* office was worse. A peaceful demonstration was violently disrupted by Shiv Sena supporters, and a couple of journalists in the procession were beaten up, leading to their hospitalisation. What, in the present political scenario of Maharashtra, is not surprising, was that the police present during the demonstration did little to stop the Sena frenzy.

The manner in which the State Government handled the call to boycott the cricket match and responded to the attack on the Press reveals a complete disregard for the need to protect the basic tenets of a democracy. It also shows that the State Government is wary of taking on the Shiv Sena tiger. The faint criticism that the Sena action has drawn in the State presents a worrying picture of the fear that a blatantly communal and chauvinistic party has been able to instil in the people of Maharashtra. The State of Maharashtra has a proud history of social reform movements which got the better of rigid social orders. Silence now, in the face of crude acts of violence, will give the Sena a licence to do worse in the days to come.

Tamil Nadu Resolution on Restoration of Waters

92AS0281A Madras *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English
4 Oct 91 p 2

[Article: "Text of Resolution"]

[Text] Madras, Oct. 3—

1. It is a historical fact that, from time immemorial, the fishermen of Tamil Nadu, from the districts of Thanjavur, Pudukkottai, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli have been fishing in the sea between India and Sri Lanka, particularly near Kachatheevu and earning their livelihood. The agreements between India and Sri Lanka, signed in 1974 and 1976 have delineated the boundary and rights of each country. In particular, the 1974 agreement had included the fundamental principle that each country can continue to enjoy all traditional rights it had always enjoyed in the areas. It is on that basis that fishermen of Tamil Nadu attempted to continue to earn their livelihood by fishing near Kachatheevu. But, contrary to the rights conferred under this agreement, the Sri Lankan navy has been attacking Tamil Nadu fishermen whenever they attempted to fish, as per their tradition, in the sea, intimidating them, cutting their nets, seizing their motor boats, setting fire to them and drowning them and harassing them in various

other ways. The Tamil Nadu government has been periodically bringing such undesirable incidents to the notice of the Central government.

2. Recently, the Sri Lankan navy has stepped up the attacks on the Tamil Nadu fishermen. They have seized their motor boats. As an extreme case of these attacks, the Sri Lankan navy has opened fire and injured the fishermen. All these atrocities have taken place for the sole reason that the fishermen have fished in the vicinity of Kachatheevu.

3. Since 1983 till end of August 1991, there have been 236 incidents of attack by the Sri Lankan navy on Tamil Nadu fishermen. Three hundred and three boats have been attacked and 486 fishermen have been affected. Fifty-one boats have been destroyed. One hundred and thirty five fishermen have been attacked and injured. Over 50 fishermen have been killed. Fifty-seven fishermen have been injured in firing incidents. The Sri Lankan navy has seized 65 motor boats and arrested 205 fishermen. There has been an increase in these incidents particularly this year.

4. The Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly strongly condemns the unprovoked attacks and firing upon Tamil Nadu fishermen and their continued harassment by the Sri Lankan navy. It seeks to convey this condemnation to the Sri Lankan government through the Central government.

5. The Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly further requests the Central government also to condemn these attacks on Tamil Nadu fishermen by the Sri Lankan navy and to impress upon the Sri Lankan government that it is its responsibility to see that such incidents do not recur in future.

6. The Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly calls upon the Central government to move the Sri Lankan government to pay compensation to the families of fishermen killed by the Sri Lankan navy and to urge the Sri Lankan government to pay adequate compensation for the Tamil Nadu fishermen who have lost their belongings in the attacks by the Sri Lankan navy and to create congenial conditions for Tamil Nadu fishermen to lead a peaceful life.

7. The underlying cause for all these problems is the violation of the 1974 agreement by Sri Lanka and the denial of the traditional rights conferred on Tamil Nadu fishermen in the agreement. Hence, the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly would like to have an immediate solution to this problem. Moreover, as has already been requested in the letter from the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister to the Prime Minister of India in this regard, the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly calls upon the Government of India to take all urgent action and efforts necessary to contact the Sri Lankan government and get back the Kachatheevu and the sea adjacent to it and to restore them to the India territory.

Uttar Pradesh Allowed To Acquire Ayodhya Land

92AS0283A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 26 Oct 91 pp 1, 15

[Article: "HC (High Court) Gives Conditional Order; U.P. (Uttar Pradesh) Allowed To Acquire Land"]

[Text] Lucknow, Oct. 25—A special bench of the Allahabad high court today allowed the Uttar Pradesh [UP] government to take possession of the land acquired by it around the disputed Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid site in Ayodhya but barred it from putting up any structure of a permanent nature, reports PTI.

The order was passed by the three member special bench comprising Mr. Justice S. C. Mathur, Mr. Justice Brijesh Kumar and Mr. Justice Raza on three separate writ petitions challenging the legality and bonafides of the government in acquiring the land.

The government had issued a notification on October 7, acquiring the land for "providing facilities and amenities for pilgrims."

The court said the possession of land would be subject to further orders but in the meantime, would not be transferred or alienated.

The court however allowed the government to put up structures of a temporary nature on the acquired land for providing facilities to the pilgrims.

The court order today related to two applications praying for interim relief on the writ petition filed against the government's notification.

The petition was filed by Mohammad Hashim, two other writs challenging the notification were also moved by the Panch Ramanandi Nirmohi Akhara and Khalif Yusuf.

The acquisition was challenged on the ground that the notified land was Waqf property and could not be acquired under the Land Acquisition Act.

The petition also alleged that the real purpose of the acquisition was "to destroy the mosque known as the Babri Masjid and to transfer the land to some organisation to construct the temple thereon."

The U.P. advocate general, Mr. V.K.S. Chaudhury disputed the petitioner's claim that the notified property belonged to the Waqf.

Besides, he said, there was no bar on acquiring Waqf property under the Land Acquisition act and cited rulings of the supreme court and some high courts to prove his point.

Mr. Chaudhury said the land was sought to be acquired so as to make arrangements for the large number of kar sewaks and pilgrims who were "expected to visit Ayodhya between October 30 and November 18 this year."

"There is the religious traditions of Brihad Parikrama and Panch Koshi Parikrama which will also fall within the said period," he told the court.

"Arrangements have to be made if this parikrama is to be held peacefully," he said.

"It is necessary that the land be acquired urgently as the dates are near at hand," he said.

Mr. Chaudhury also claimed there were a large number of structures and squatters on the land and the government had acquired it to "clear the land for the free flow of traffic."

The court said while it believed that even Waqf property could be acquired "the exercise of power under the (Land Acquisition) Act... shall have to be bonafide and a colourable exercise of power may vitiate the acquisition."

The judges pointed out that there had been "no definite denial" by the U.P. government in its counter-affidavit of allegations by the petitioner of "colourable exercise of power" in the land acquisition.

The petition alleged that "persons holding responsible positions in the government" had declared that a temple would be constructed on the acquired land.

The court also rejected an application challenging the jurisdiction of the special bench to hear the case.

Meanwhile, the Janata Dal today expressed fears that the Babri Masjid structure may suffer damage if the Centre did not act immediately to stop the digging activities of Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and Bajrang Dal volunteers around the disputed site at Ayodhya.

The Dal spokesman, Mr. Hari Kishore Singh, told newsmen here that the continued "illegal digging" being carried out around the disputed site would undermine the foundations of the Babri structure and may even lead to its collapse.

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) today welcomed the order passed by the Allahabad high court.

The party general secretary, Mr. Govindacharya, said here that the court order proved that the BJP's stand on the Ram Janambhoomi issue was based on the premise of justice for all and appeasement of none. The BJP expected an order of such a nature, he added.

The Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) also said that the order was a step in the right direction.

Meanwhile, the Prime Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, has said that the Uttar Pradesh government should implement the order of the special bench of the Allahabad high court given today.

Replying to newsmen at the airport here before leaving for Delhi, the Prime Minister said: "The UP government should abide by the order given today."

"The high court has just passed the order. Arguments were going on when I left New Delhi. I should study the full details on the order," he replied when asked for his detailed reaction.

The Prime Minister further said: "However, the Centre was not a party to the case pending with the high court."

Asked about the situation in Ayodhya following the ongoing kar seva and the dharna being planned by Janata Dal leaders led by former Prime Minister, Mr. V. P. Singh

and Samajwadi Janata Party leaders next week, he said: "I hope there will be no violence. There should not be any bloodshed."

Meanwhile, security in the Ram Janambhoomi and Babri Masjid complex has been tightened and strict checking are being made by the CRPF [Central Reserve Police Force] personnel at all entry points at the complex.

Correspondent Tells Plan for Ayodhya Temple

92AS0261A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 28 Oct 91 p 8

[Article by M.G. Gupta]

[Text] Faizabad, 27 October: In pursuance of their plan to construct the Ram temple at Ayodhya, the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] and allied organisations are proceeding with the three-phased confidential plan suggested by a ten-member committee set up last July.

Acquiring property near the shrine through 'hibbanamas' (gift deeds) or sale deeds, the demolition of structures on it and the acquisition of land by the state government are part of the plan. The high court's order was not unexpected either.

In the first phase, three houses were acquired by the VHP through "hibbanamas" registered here. Since Ayodhya is a temple city, idols are installed in about 90 percent of the houses. The houses acquired by the VHP had small temples in them. One of them is the Sankat Mochan temple, against the demolition of which a writ petition has been filed in the court.

The first house-cum-temple acquired by the VHP had an area of 529 sq. ft. and belonged to Baba Mani Ram Das alias Phalahari baba who transferred it through a "hibbanama" last August. The second belonged to Baba Keshaw Das (area 72 sq. ft.) while the owners of the third house, in which the Sankat Mochan temple is located, are Baba Ramashraya Das, Baba Chet Ram and Baba Ram Saran Das. Baba Ramashraya Das and Baba Chet Ram have transferred it to the VHP while Baba Ram Saran Das obtained a stay order from the local munsif's court against the demolition.

Baba Ram Gopal Tewari has transferred his 2,064 sq. ft. land to the VHP through a sale deed for Rs. [rupees] 11,000. This land, which had only huts, is adjacent to the shilanyas site. "Bhoomi poojan" for the next pillar of the Singh dwar was performed by the VHP on this land on 21 October.

Most of those who had transferred the property and given up their possession say that "hamne to apni jayadad Ram kaj ke liye de diya" (we have given our property in the cause of the Lord Ram). In fact, all these structures exist on the disputed nazul plot (number 586) and had sprung up during the pendency of the suite. No "patta" was ever given by the nazul to the owners of the structures. Obviously, they were unauthorised occupants and have no right to sell, transfer it or even to live on it.

The VHP took advantage of this lacuna in the ownership of these structures. The owners' weakness was exploited when they were told that since they were illegal occupants, they could be removed from there any time because the state government was going to acquire the land and property.

This made the owners panicky. Feelers were sent to them that if they transferred the land in favour of the VHP, they could get a price and would be suitably rehabilitated somewhere else. Initially, they did not agree but efforts continued for about a month.

The revenue minister, Mr. Brahma Dutt Dwivedi, who supervised the operation, made several trips to the temple town in this connection. The pressure continued to mount and the owners reluctantly agreed to the VHP proposal and transferred the land through "hibbanamas." According to reports, there had been underhand deals also. But the exact amount paid is a matter of speculation.

In the second phase, the land was to be acquired by the state government through an ordinance or legislation. The BJP's legal experts suggested that it be brought as a money bill. But that was not an easy task.

There was pressure from the VHP hardliners on the state government for concrete fulfillment of the election promise before the by-elections. Besides, there was anxiety in BJP circles over the failure of the "protest week" against the shrine bill passed by the Lok Sabha.

Ultimately, at a top-level meeting, it was decided to acquire the land under the Land Acquisition Act. Barring the chief minister, Mr. Kalyan Singh, the finance minister, Mr. Rajendra Gupta, the revenue minister, Mr. Brahma Dutt Dwivedi, the chief secretary, the home secretary and the revenue secretary, no one knew of the plan till it was published.

In the government notification the land was mentioned through its revenue plot numbers (no. 159, 160, 171 and 172) whereas it is commonly known through its nazul plot numbers (586 and 22 other numbers). Even in the court cases, the land is referred to through the nazul plot numbers.

Then started the demolitions to show that the kar seva had started. Petty shopkeepers were also displaced. Thanks to the over-enthusiasm of the local MP [member of Parliament], Mr. Vinay Katiyar, this operation was carried out in a ham-handed manner and prompted the BJP president, Mr. Murli Manohar Joshi, to rush to Ayodhya. Mr. Katiyar was pulled up by Mr. Joshi and Mr. Ashok Singhal.

The plan was to carry out the demolitions discreetly. Accordingly, one of the owners first took away the idols and the sheets on the roof, after giving in writing to the local officials that he had given the land to the VHP and was taking away his belongings.

The next day around 11 a.m. Mr. Katiyar came on the scene with a photographer and posed with a shovel. He announced that the kar seva had begun.

By the time Mr. Joshi and other leaders reached the temple town, the house-cum-temple belonging to Phalahari Baba and Baba Keshaw Das, as also the back portion of the Sankat Mochan temple, which was the residential part, was demolished.

In fact, the BJP is in no hurry to construct the temple. Its leaders are aware that some sort of a stay order would be passed against the acquisition notification. That is why the "bhoomi poojan" and symbolic digging for the next pillar of the main entrance gate was performed half-an-hour before the court was to start the hearing of the writ petition filed against the acquisition bid.

Work has come to a standstill since then and the kar sevaks are subdued. They have been advised by the leaders to exercise patience and go home after darshan "which itself is a kar seva."

Punjab: Time Said Running Out for State in Turmoil

92AS0254E Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
4 Nov 91 p 8

[Article by Surinder Khullar, DH News Service: "Still No Light at the End of the Tunnel"]

[Text] Chandigarh: One would not like to doubt the good intentions of Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and the Congress Government in regard to the Punjab crisis and the pious resolutions to resolve it, but it hardly reflects any major change from past methods and is thus least statesmanlike.

No wonder the Punjab watchers have described the change of advisers as yet another administrative exercise to fiddle with one of the most explosive problems faced by the Centre since India won freedom on August 15, 1947.

The retired advisers (mostly chosen from among the blue-eyed boys of the powers-that-be) might be neither better nor worse than the serving bureaucrats but one thing is certain, they usually succeed in creating a coterie of their own because of the inherent love-hate relationship between the in-service officers.

However, the advisers continue to carry out a thankless task as the serving bureaucrats deride them for their arrogance and pretentiousness and the general public refuse to recognise them because of their short stay. Those who generally derive benefits usually succeed in seducing them.

However, these changes hardly alter the face of the administration which is far from helpful and amiable—grievances grow into protests and agitations result in violence which consequently force the people to take to arms. In fact, the lack of concern or continued indifference leads to struggle and if the meaning is not comprehended by the authority in time, it leads to insurgency and secession.

Blind Alley

Punjab today is on the brink of such a path, if Mr. Simranjit Singh Mann is asking for the right of self-determination or if the Panthic Committees, AISSFS [All India Sikh Students' Federation], armed outfits and the Baba Khalsa International are demanding a sovereign Sikh State (Khalistan) or if the moderate Akalis, like Mr. Parkash Singh Badal and Mr. Surjit Singh Barnala, are joining the calls of the militants, they have been all forced into a blind alley, which does not have an escape route or display any kindly light which can bestir the needed confidence among the political agitators, militants or insurgents.

However, while the system is becoming more and more corrupt and less and less responsive, people in Punjab are feeling increasingly alienated and helpless. Politicians do not hide their anger over the situation which has been worsening with each six-months extension of President's rule in the State. While the bureaucrats have been having their heyday, the Governors have been mostly preoccupied with seeing their tenures safely through.

Punjab today is falling apart as its apparent superficial prosperity has been giving way to a more realistic and turbulent war waged by its have-nots.

There has been a silent as well as vocal flight of persons as well as capital. Established industrial houses have shied away from Punjab despite pressures from the Central Government. Entrepreneurs will not touch Punjab even with a barge pole as even the aggressive Akalis and Kulaks will not set up an industry or any other business in the districts affected by militancy such as Gurdaspur, Amritsar and Ferozepur.

There are numerous examples when the PSIDC [expansion not given] had to change the site of a new industrial venture from these places to somewhere around Chandigarh and there are instances where top industrial houses have bowed out after giving promises to set up at least a few hundred crore worth of projects in Punjab. Similarly, trade and business are crumbling under terrorism, insecurity and lawlessness.

There are also reports of migration from the countryside as businessmen prefer to keep away from the telephones, the fear of extortions and kidnappings being so real.

With such a scenario haunting the thoroughly frustrated and embittered populace, there are as yet hopes of a ray of light if the Centre takes some bold and immediate steps to restore the honour of the Punjabis by merging Chandigarh with Punjab, taking the river water dispute between Punjab and Haryana to the Supreme Court and giving an assurance on restructuring Centre-State relations on truly federal lines.

Not Taken Sides

A vast majority of Sikhs have not yet taken sides and would always like to live with or in India rather than cut off relations with the mother country once and for all, the reverberating cries for Khalistan notwithstanding.

However, political observers feel that by having brought Lt. Gen. J.K. Puri as an adviser to Governor Surendra Nath, the Centre has handed down some strong signals regarding the shape of things to come in Punjab in the near future.

Once again the fast slipping situation is likely to force the Centre to arm itself with extraordinary powers in the disturbed areas of the State and re-enact Operation Woodrose to search, seize and hunt for armed men and create a conducive situation for holding the Assembly and Lok Sabha polls in Punjab before February 15 next year. This is a hard choice but it seems the Prime Minister had okayed it before the advisers were named and appointed, according to political sources.

Meanwhile, the Government is keenly watching the *kar seva* being carried out on the Akal Takht, which had been disrupted due to Operation Black Thunder in 1988 when the Government undertook to flush out, terrorists from the Golden Temple complex. The SGPC [Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee] President has promised that the place would not be used for any other purpose than preaching religion but the police and paramilitary forces are maintaining a vigil to ensure that it is not misused.

Let us keep our fingers crossed as Punjab is in turmoil and time is running out.

Akali Dal Leader Talks to Press in New Delhi

92AS0260A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 28 Oct 91 pp 1, 13

[Text] New Delhi. 27 October: The Shiromani Akali Dal [SAD] leader, Mr. Simranjeet Singh Mann, says he would like the United Nations to hold elections in Punjab.

"This is the only way out," he told journalists here today, a day after his return from jail in Ghaziabad. Mr. Mann and a delegation of his SAD (Mann) party had been arrested by the Uttar Pradesh government for attempting to proceed to Ayodhya, where they wished to lend succour to those opposed to any demolition of the Babri mosque.

"Elections are not going to be ever held in Punjab by the Indian government," said the former police officer. With him were two former Punjab ministers (and general secretaries of his party), Mr. Charanjit Singh Walia and Mr. Sucha Singh Chottepur.

"The home minister has said we can't hold polls in Punjab because Pakistan isn't allowing this," said Mr. Mann. "In other words, you've surrendered part of the sovereignty you claim over Punjab to the government of Pakistan. Well, both India and Pakistan are members of the United Nations So, let the United Nations do it (hold elections)."

"But do you believe in the Indian constitution" asked journalists. "Does the Indian government? Do any of your political leaders?" demanded Mr. Mann. "Your constitution says President's rule cannot go on beyond six months or a year. In Punjab, it has gone for five years. Thousands of Sikhs have been languishing in jails without trial for years. You don't believe in constitutional freedom for

them, do you? Your constitution gives the right of movement and peaceful assembly to all: "I've just tried to go to Ayodhya, totally peacefully, to commiserate with Muslims there against a government's attempt to pull down their place of worship. And to see for ourselves the devastation (of the earthquake) in Uttarakhand. And I was promptly put in jail."

"No Indian believes in the constitution. So why ask me if I do? You have already constitutionally separated Punjab from the rest of the country. The Indian government put me in jail for five years, and tortured me. Yet, when I came out, I didn't call for Khalistan, or violence. I just said, please talk to the militants, please hold elections, learn from the past. Your Mr. V.P. Singh promised, did nothing. Mr. Chandra Shekhar came, talked and went. Nothing has happened and you continued depriving Punjab's people of their rights. So why talk of your constitution? You conceded Khalistan, pushed it down our throats. Now we've accepted it."

Polls weren't held because of the extraordinary situation in Punjab, is it not, he was asked. "Lincoln held national elections in the USA when their civil war was going on," replied Mr. Mann. "If he could do that, do you think the heavens would've fallen if polls had been held in Punjab? No, the Indian government is never going to allow a free poll. They know if they do, Mann will come on top. They would rather rule by force."

"What is your policy on Pakistan regarding Punjab," he demanded. "The home minister says Pakistan is training militants, sending them into India. Let's assume it's so. Have you sent them any formal protest or threat? Not a word. Instead, the Prime Minister says he's had a very cordial meeting with Pakistan's Prime Minister and everything went off very well. Whom are we to believe? Is anybody going to accept what you say?"

What do you want done on Punjab now, he was asked. "Talk to the militants; it will break the ice," he promptly replied. Which militants? There are so many groups? "There are only three main groups," said Mr. Mann. "The Panthic Committee led by Dr. Sohan Singh. The Babbar Khalsa International. And the (Wassa Singh) Zaffarwal group. If the government with all its intelligence can't identify three main bodies, it has no business to call itself a government."

Those three groups are based in Pakistan, aren't they, he was asked. "I have no idea at all. We are a peaceful, democratic party. We don't deal with the militants; we don't know where they are." Aren't both of you fighting for a theocratic state, went another query. "No," he flatly replied. "We believe in a democratic secular state. Not a theocratic one."

Mr. Mann said his party continued to support the scheduled programme of rebuilding Amritsar's Golden Temple (the *kar seva*) from Wednesday, under the supervision of the Damdami Taksal. What about the reported differences among Sikh groups on the programme? "Yes, I've heard of this...this should be amicably sorted out...every Sikh would like to...must take part in the *kar seva*. I'm a little out of

touch with Punjab developments for some days, as you know; we're all going back there now." He was going, he said, to meet the head of the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) in this connection tomorrow morning.

"Unless the bloc of religious minorities join hands to strengthen each other, they cannot continue to exist in India," declared Mr. Mann.

"Unless the minorities join hands, they will not be able to confront the Hindu fundamentalists" said Mr. Mann. "One sword only respects another sword. It is the only way to keep the other sword sheathed. This means Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and others must come together to protect themselves. Our party shall be working towards this from now on."

"We have," he declared "espoused the cause of a minority. Our party had sworn to protect the Babri Masjid, we have taken the first step to that. I now call upon Raja V.P. Singh, (Mr. Mann would not speak about the former Prime Minister and Janata Dal leader without applying the half-pejorative prefix) and others who say they are secularists to march to Ayodhya themselves and save the mosque."

"I'm going back to Punjab and our executive committee will decide what we should do next," he added.

Mr. Mann went on to blast Mr. V.P. Singh and others in the Janata Dal and elsewhere who had condemned the meeting between him and the head of the Babri Masjid Movement Co-ordination Committee (BMCC), Syed Shahabuddin.

"Everybody else can talk to Shahabuddin and there is no problem. If I talk to Mr. V.P. Singh, as I did, there are hurrahs all around. But I talk to Shahabuddin and all hell is let loose. Why am I untouchable? It is this untouchability thrust on us by the status quo forces which we are going to break."

Incidentally, Mr. Shahabuddin's Insaf Party is an ally of the Janata Dal in many ways.

Former Chief Ministers of Karnataka State Interviewed

92AS0254A Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English (Supplement) 3 Nov 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview by Stephen David and Jagpreet Luthra: "State Perspective"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Rejoice, reflect, rue and regret—sentiments all from four prominent men, former Chief Ministers all. Each views Rajyotsava in a different perspective, harks back to the situation during his days and takes stock of the present.

For the irrepressible R. Gundu Rao (1980-82) Rajyotsava is a day of rejoicing. For S.R. Bommai it is one of introspection. "It's a day of reflection and rededication to the people of the State...in spite of 35 years of the State's formation we have not been able to implement Kannada as a State language in full form..." Ramakrishna Hegde says

(Rajyotsava) is something like Independence Day for Kannadigas. But the dream of many of us regarding the development of the State as a model state in the country is far from being fulfilled, he adds.

Veerendra Patil feels that there are many backward areas in the State which are yet to be developed otherwise Rajyotsava has no meaning. "There should be uniform development and an emotional integration among the people...only then there is some meaning...otherwise it will become a farce and people who celebrate it (will be doing it) for their own purpose."

How do they compare developments in the area of food, transport and housing during their tenure and now? Bommai says his tenure was "very short and yet our government did better on these fronts." In spite of continuous drought for three preceding years we efficiently distributed foodgrains and other essential commodities by introducing green and yellow card systems. After President's rule was imposed in 1989 the public distribution system suffered a setback and there has been no improvement since then.

Patil who was the chief minister for the second time for only about nine months in 1990 says it was too short a period to compare the conditions then and now "but it goes without saying that the State requires more attention to food, housing, transport and other important matters."

Gundu Rao's main concern was law and order, "my pet subject." In my time more houses were built than in any other: 2.89 lakh houses for the weaker section during 1980-82 as against the existing 1.75 lakh in 20 years. He adds "9.84 lakh of the 11.84 lakh families identified as siteless were given sites."

Bommai blames the breakdown of the public transport for not implementing his proposals to bifurcate the state transport corporation into five corporations. "We had also intended adding a new fleet in proportion to the rising pressure, but it has not been implemented by successive State governments...no bold and positive policy decisions are being taken."

On housing he says that not a single Janata house or houses under the 'self financing schemes' of the government have been built in the last two years. A number of World Bank schemes have been dropped, he says. One such for the siteless in Bangalore, Mangalore, Hubli, Dharwad, Mysore and Gulbarga finalised by World Bank has not been implemented here while Tamil Nadu has utilised at least Rs.[rupees]700 crore World Bank aid for housing alone.

Hegde says the pace of development "during my period greatly accelerated.... there was provision of drinking water to every village, electrification of all villages, dry land cultivation was a unique gift of mine to the state..." We were marginally surplus in food, becoming the second largest producer of oil seeds, producing nearly two-third of the total long staple cotton in the country.

Hegde commends his colleague Abdul Nazir Saab "for giving a new thrust to rural housing." As regards transport, he says he wanted to create several corporations so there

could be healthy competition, and gradually denationalise road transport. "I am convinced that this is an area which can best be left to the private sector."

How does Karnataka compare with the other States? Patil is optimistic: "Karnataka is endowed with rich natural resources...an ideal State. For utilising the natural resources, adequate finance and efficient and honest staff are required." It compared favourably with other States in the South in many areas. We lagged behind because of want of resources and the Centre's unhelpful attitude, especially in power generation and irrigation.

Bommai argues (the State) lacks in education and other developmental activities because of wrong policies followed by successive governments. "There is lack of political pull at the Centre because the State has been ruled by the same party (save six years), and it has always succumbed to central leadership."

He says during his and Hegde's tenure "we briefed and pressurised our MPs [members of Parliament] to present a forceful case before the Centre and before every Parliament session." Much needs to be done about the small scale industries and agriculture in our State.

Where have they foreseen faced difficulties in implementing developmental programme?

Gundu Rao is satisfied playing the bureaucracy card close to his chest: "All development revolves round the bureaucrats—you leave them alone and development will follow." A feeling echoed by Patil and Hegde.

Bommai commends decentralisation of power and finance. There was over-centralisation of administrative and financial powers...even for a small project in the State subjects like education or agriculture we had to run to the Centre."

Hegde is all praise for the Government machinery. "The bureaucracy was both responsive and responsible during my tenure. It is a pity that it is being politicised now. There is total demoralisation." He says he faced problems "due to paucity of funds even though we were number two in the whole country in mobilising additional resources..."

Bommai points out that Karnataka is a highly-taxed State. "In resource mobilisation we are fourth in the country because of better management of finances but we have suffered at the hands of various finance commissions and could never get the benefits accorded to a backward State. There should be a change in the Centre's policy including the Gadgil formula. The consignment tax bill, for instance, which all the States have been pleading for was moved long ago but today it has become a non-issue." He warns that "unless we complete the pending projects in the next ten years the State has no future."

Patil zeroes in on finance and honest staff. "If this is provided there should not be any difficulty in implementing developmental programmes." Rao exhorts, "Give sufficient time to the bureaucrats, let them understand the

areas of posting...only they can implement any programme, not an MP, MLA [member of Legislative Assembly] or even a minister."

What about the rising number of highway accidents? Rao blames it on the lack of good roads. "All national highways should have double roads; there should be more railway lines and money for building highways should be arranged...Beg, borrow or steal but find out new methods in transport system.: He says vehicles should be subject to a thorough test, fitness certificates issued after a periodical check and patrolling strengthened on highways.

More policemen, in proportion to the rising populace, is necessary, Rao says.

Hegde is shocked at the "awful conditions of our roads." The so-called national highways do not even conform to the condition of *autobahns* Hitler built in Germany in 1935-36. There should be separate tracks for slow-moving vehicles. "My plan to have a separate Expressway between Bangalore and Mysore was also torpedoed. Highways should be allowed to be developed by private entrepreneurs who can collect toll as in the West." Bommai shares this view too.

Hegde is angry there is "so much of corruption in the RTO [expansion not given] and driving licences can be just bought across the table." This should be changed and stringent punishment meted out to erring drivers.

Bommai says the State has not got any national highway in the last 20 years though successive State governments have applied for about 20 roads to be converted into highways.

Patil lists various factors responsible for road traffic accidents like bad condition of roads, cleaners often taking to the wheel, driving under the influence of alcohol, overloading *et al.* He is also of the view that the liquor shops on the highways are to a great extent responsible for the accidents.

Where have we gone wrong in trying to keep pace with development? "We have followed wrong priorities," Bommai says, "We should have invested in irrigation earlier but we failed. The delay has only increased the costs by 10 to 20 times. The pending Malaprabha irrigation project originally costing Rs. 300 crore is now put at Rs. 2,000 crore."

Accountability for such delays must be fixed and exemplary punishment be given to defaulters, he adds.

Patil connects development with finance and honest administration, harping on the same strings. "The financial position of the State is now not satisfactory."

Hegde opines that in the last two years rural development has taken a back seat. Patil's brave statement in regard to excise revenue was a hoax...excise revenue had increased three-fold during my tenure. "His main objective was to malign the previous government."

The pace of development has slowed down...with the same party in power at the Centre the State government could have got cleared many pending and new projects, Hegde feels.

How have political developments affected the State? "Over the last two years (they have) adversely affected," says Bommai. Internal dissensions of the ruling party and the open charges of corruption at all levels have badly affected the State's image...there does not seem to be any government in the State. If the present political instability continues the State's development would suffer."

Patil says in a democracy political developments or activities are unavoidable. "We have to tolerate political activities without affecting the development activities much." A view shared by Hegde: "In other countries inspite of frequent changes of government, economic development goes on unaffected. Otherwise there is no reason why several important projects conceived and started by my government should have been abandoned."

If they were Chief Ministers again, where would they first begin change? Gundu Rao says his main concern would be law and order and he would modernise the police force (including the city police going back to London Bobby hats): "I want to remove any trace of colonialism—white and khaki dress."

Bommai would begin the change with himself. "If the Chief Minister is above board and committed the State would move in the right direction. "To me, administration is like a horse which depends upon the rider, the rider must know how to control and guide the administrative machinery...it is not how long you rule but the things you do while you are in power that count."

Patil toes the same line: "I would give more priority to improve the financial position of the State and keep honest officers in responsible positions."

Hegde would streamline the bureaucracy to eliminate corruption. "I would leave rural and district development to the mandal panchayats and zilla parishads, and concentrate on State projects." He says he would encourage the small scale industry and accord top priority to power and irrigation, while launching more schemes for the poor and the farmers. "I would fight for greater autonomy to the State in financial and developmental matters."

And even as each former Chief Minister faces what seem like days of dull dissertations the scene that emerges is that of a forced churning in an ideological melting pot.

For some, Hegde's suggestions for development may be a way of salving his conscience. While Bommai's philippic against the present administration may not necessarily help the State notch up a number one position, Patil's imprecations about the liquor lobby, and the consequent reference to excise revenue, reflects it was not all beer and skittles when he was in the *gaddi*.

Karnataka: Reintroduction of Octroi Tax Criticized

92AS0254C Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
4 Nov 91 p 8

[Article: "A Leap Backwards"]

[Text] The State Government has taken a totally unwarranted decision in choosing to reintroduce octroi, an entry tax levied by corporations and municipalities. The trend everywhere is for abolition of this wasteful tax, which Karnataka was one of the first to do away with in 1979. The reasons for the irrelevance of this tax are well known. Octroi has no economic basis whatsoever. It is nothing more than the exercise of a quasi-monopoly by corporations and municipalities, which enjoy the benefits of controlling movement of goods into cities and towns that have a large demand for commodities of various kinds. The past experience with octroi has also been unfortunate, to say the least. Transporters were subjected to endless delays, bribe-giving flourished and even transport of personal belongings was subjected to harassment. The observation by the Chief Minister, Mr. S. Bangarappa, that the maladministration which led to the abolition of octroi in the State will not be repeated is no guarantee against its misuse again. Corruption and abuse of discretionary powers is a patent malady in the collection of all State taxes. The people of Karnataka who have been free from one such tax are now going to be subjected to it again.

The main reason for re-introduction of octroi is obvious but the solution does not lie in levying it. The finances of the corporations and municipalities are in a poor shape. Though the decision to reintroduce the tax is prompted by a report of an official committee, an element of short-sightedness is evident. Local bodies levy enough of other taxes which, if properly collected, should suffice for maintenance of civic amenities. Collection from the State entry tax, levied by the State Government, was to be handed over to the local bodies. If their resource requirements have exceeded the local bodies' tax collections it is a reflection of their maladministration which is no justification for re-introduction of octroi. A State that claims to be committed to decentralisation has done little to effect true devolution of financial powers. If the State Government and the local bodies genuinely shared the powers of revenue collection and expenditure and no short-cuts were taken in enforcement, there would be no need for fresh taxes. The State Government has not been able to either control expenditure or plug revenue leakages and has chosen the soft option of levying a new tax which, in the past, has proved to be more harmful than useful.

Official Directing Bofors Probe Transferred

92AS0267A Madras INDIAN EXPRESS in English
26 Oct 91 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, 25 October: Mr. K. Madhavan, the Joint Director of the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) and the key man in the Bofors probe has been taken off the case. The CBI Director, Mr. Vijay Karan, formally conveyed the decision to him early this week, according to official sources.

The CBI spokesman described the development as a "routine" affair. According to him, Mr. Madhavan, who was promoted to the rank of Joint Director a few months ago "was overburdened with the Bofors case" and because of it could not be allocated other responsibilities. Mr. M.D. Sharma, another joint director, was also looking after Bofors case along with Mr. Madhavan. The latter has now been designated as Joint Director (Economic Offences) and as such there was no need for two senior persons on the same job, the spokesman said, adding that Mr. Sharma will continue to supervise investigations in the Bofors case.

But for how long will Mr. Sharma remain on the Bofors case? For, according to informed sources, he had recently requested Mr. Karan to send him back to Madhya Pradesh—from where he came on deputation five years ago—as he was getting a promotion there as Additional Director General of Police. Mr. Karan has still not taken any decision in this regard, but then Mr. Sharma's term in CBI is expiring next month.

Mr. Sharma is also handling HDW [Howaldtswerke Deutsche Werft] case, which is yet to be chargesheeted, in spite of the fact that the FIR [First Information Report] in the case was filed over a year ago.

However, it is Mr. Madhavan's abrupt exit from the Bofors case that has raised most of the eyebrows. Known for his cast-iron perseverance in the Bofors investigations, he was involved in it from the day the FIR was filed in the case. During the time the first letter rogatory to Switzerland was issued by a Special Judge, in January 1990, Mr. Madhavan could be seen attending all the hearings before him in the Tis Hazari court. The recently concluded marathon hearings in the Supreme Court—which delved into the validity of the Bofors FIR—were also attended regularly by Mr. Madhavan. He was the first to visit Switzerland, along with the then CBI director Mr. Rajendra Shekhar, to unearth the names of pay-off beneficiaries.

In December last, Mr. Madhavan had incurred the wrath of former Union Minister Mr. Subrahmaniam Swamy for making an uncalled for remark before Justice M.K. Chawla in the Delhi High Court.

With Mr. Madhavan removed from the case at its penultimate stage, and Mr. Sharma opting out of it, the investigating team handling it from the start has all but dissolved. A Superintendent of Police and two Deputy Superintendents of Police are all that are now left in the team, set up by the V.P. Singh Government to bring the beneficiaries to book.

Advisers to Troubled State Governors Changed

92AS0257A Madras THE HINDU in English 27 Oct 91
p 1

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 26 October: In a major move, the Government proposes a more active and overt role for the Army in Punjab, on the lines of Jammu and Kashmir and Assam. In the latter two States also, the Centre envisages an even more decisive presence for the Army.

However, official sources underlined that the Army would only extend aid to the civil authority. Bringing the three States under direct military administration was not being considered.

Role of Army

To begin with, changes of Advisers to Governors to induct soldiers in that capacity have been made. Lt. Gen. A. Zaki, who commanded the country's Northern forces in the Kashmir region until recently and is now the Commandant of the National Defence Academy, is shortly expected to take charge as one of the Advisers to the Jammu and Kashmir Governor, Mr. G.C. Saxena. In Punjab, Lt. Gen. J.K. Puri, former Vice Chief of Army Staff, will be an Adviser to the Governor.

In Jammu and Kashmir, besides Lt. Gen. Zaki, Mr. Hameedullah, the Chairman of the State Services Recruitment Board, will be the other new Adviser. In Punjab too, besides Lt. Gen. Puri, the former Financial Commissioner in the State, Mr. Sadanand, will be Adviser to the Governor. Mr. T.S. Broca, the third Adviser, is likely to continue.

Sources believe the initiative role for the Army in the terrorist-infested States will unfold by 1 November. The new move is understood to have been cleared at the highest level in the Government, and is also said to have been endorsed at the annual Commanders' Conference which concluded yesterday after five-day deliberations.

Threat in Punjab

The urgency, sources point out, is greater in Punjab on account of the plan of the various Akali as well as secessionist groups to re-commence kar seva in the Golden Temple Complex which was interrupted after Operation Black Thunder in 1988. The kar seva had been initiated in the wake of Bluestar and had given the terrorists the freedom to invade and infest the Golden Temple, virtually making it their command headquarters.

The Army has learnt many lessons from 'Operation Rhino' in Assam, a sharp contrast from the earlier 'Operation Bajrang.' The latter had ended miserably without achieving any results. On the other hand, sources claim, 'Rhino' has been a sweeping success, and has earned the goodwill of the civilian population, primarily because the Army has not indulged in rough and ready methods, and has been scrupulously following the policy of respecting local sentiments. It has also operated in perfect coordination with civilian authorities as well as the paramilitary security forces.

Assam, sources say, would provide the model for the role of the Army in Punjab. The Army is sought to be inducted in a qualitatively different capacity in Punjab in order to make the State secure for the conduct of State elections, which highly placed Home Ministry sources believe may not be far away. A ranking source asserted that the Government was determined to hold election in Punjab by 15 February.

More changes likely

PTI reports: Official sources do not rule out some more changes in the Jammu and Kashmir administration keeping in view the Centre's decision to initiate a political process to wean away the public from the influence of the militants.

There was a general improvement in the situation in the border State. The common people were fed up with the militant activities and wanted peace. Information regarding the whereabouts of the kidnapped Wakhloo couple came from the local people which, the sources said, was an encouraging sign.

Government confident

Going by the Army operation for releasing the Wakhloos without firing a single shot, the Government was confident that the Army would be able to flush out militants without harming the innocent people. The elimination of a top Hizbul Mujahideen leader in a recent encounter had demoralised the militant ranks.

While the source did not rule out stepping up of militant activity in Punjab around the time of the elections, adequate security arrangement would be made.

On the attempts by militants to frustrate the electoral process at the behest of Pakistan, the sources said the Government had "bent backwards enough" and "now it was time to take the bull by the horns."

MPs Form Panel To Fight Communalism

92AS0266A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 26 Oct 91 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 25 October: Nine former and present parliamentarians [MPs], cutting across party lines, have set up a joint committee in an attempt to strengthen centrist forces, uphold secular values and fight communalism.

The committee comprises Mr. M.J. Akbar, Mr. Suresh Kalmadi, Mr. Anil Shastri, Mr. B. Kahta and Mr. Sarfaraz Ahmed (Congress), Mr. K.C. Tyagi and Mr. Ajay Singh (Janata Dal), Mr. Subodh Kant Sahay and Mr. Bhaktacharan Dass (Samajwadi Janata Party).

Addressing a joint press conference here today, the members of the newly-found committee pointed to the great dangers of both majority and minority communalism and emphasised the need for destroying both through the unity of centrist forces. Indian secularism, they warned, is being destroyed, posing a serious threat to the unity and integrity of the country.

A statement issued on the occasion stated while minority communalism has today become either "secessionist or neo-secessionist in practice and intent," the standard of majority communalism has been taken up by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) which has linked together groups like the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh], the Hindu Mahasabha, the Bajrang Dal, the Shiv Sena and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad.

It was pointed out that the reason why the BJP has become such a force to reckon with is because the centrist parties have so often compromised with communalism in their search for vote banks. It was stated that the [word indistinct] has come for all centrist forces to unite for a common cause, adding that the "nation's unity itself cannot survive if we do not defeat communalism."

Mr. M.J. Akbar, former Congress spokesman, while reiterating the need for unity of centrist forces, was quick to point out that this was "not an exercise in party politics," stating that their getting together was on the basis of their commitment to forces that are tearing the country apart. According to Mr. Akbar, while communal forces are working in tandem, secular forces are still split. There was an urgent need to rectify this situation, he said.

Report on Meeting of National Integration Council

92AS0284A Madras THE HINDU in English 2 Nov 91
p 1

[Article: "BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) To Strive for Peaceful Solution"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 2—After a marathon sitting lasting for over 10 hours, the meeting of the reconstituted National Integration Council [NIC] here today virtually committed the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] to making every effort to find an amicable solution to the Ayodhya dispute, and pending a 'final solution' decided to hold the Uttar Pradesh Government 'fully responsible' for the protection of the Rama Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid structure.

The page-long resolution came at the end of a day marked by intense pressure on the BJP to commit itself to abide by a Court verdict in the dispute that has defied a solution for the last 40 years. The strident voices that demanded stern action against the U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] Government for the recent happenings around Ayodhya, were met by the Prime Minister in his closing remarks who firmly stated that the Center was conscious of its 'Constitutional role,' but how this would be played would have to be left to it.

At the end of the day the lone dissenting voice was that of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] whose working president, Mr. Vishnu Hari Dalmia, expressed his 'reservations' on the point that the U.P. Government would 'fully implement' all orders of the Allahabad High Court in the Ayodhya related cases pending before it. The Council 'noted' the assurances given by the U.P. Chief Minister in this regard.

Standing committee: An important decision was to constitute a standing committee which should meet and discuss the subject of secularism as early as possible. The Prime Minister noted that if necessary a national debate on secularism should be encouraged for, on this depended the future of the Indian polity and our democracy. A suggestion by Mr. G. Kasturi, former editor of THE HINDU, that zonal committees should be left to the various regions was also accepted, as also a suggestion that the media should also exercise restraint and act in a manner that

would promote communal harmony. It was pointed out that the standing committee of the last NIC never met but the Prime Minister promised that this would not happen again.

The Prime Minister was present throughout the long discussion and in his closing remarks was able to reconcile some of the conflicting views. The Home Minister, Mr. S. B. Chavan, held discussions with leaders of national political parties to enable the drafting of the resolution.

As expected a large number of speakers criticised and expressed grave concern at the recent provocative happenings at Ayodhya and demanded that the U.P. Chief Minister give them details of the events. Mr. Kalyan Singh, while holding that certain matters were out of the purview of Courts, nevertheless gave assurances that his Government would make every effort to find an amicable solution, that pending a final solution, the State Government would hold itself fully responsible for the protection of the Rama Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid structure, that orders of the Court in regard to land acquisition proceedings would be fully implemented, and finally that the judgments of the Allahabad High Court in the pending cases would not be violated.

Change in Stance

Thus the U.P. Government has itself assured the Council that it was committed to implementing all orders of the Court in cases related to the Ayodhya dispute. This reflects a change in its stance for only two days ago Mr. Kalyan Singh had defiantly said that the State Government could transfer the land acquired to any party. It also remains to be seen whether the 'reservations' expressed by the VHP representative would lead to a slight parting of ways between the BJP and the VHP.

A significant aspect of the resolution is that it does pinpoint the Ayodhya dispute as 'one of the factors which has added immensely to the build-up of communal tension' and the Council expressed its concern at the recent happenings at Ayodhya and 'hoped that such situations will not recur.' Against the background of several speakers having squarely blamed the BJP for a virulent communal campaign during the last general elections with the Ram temple being used as the peg, the pinpointing of Ayodhya as a factor in increased communal violence amounts to an indictment of the BJP.

The CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] leaders, Mr. H. S. Surjeet, in fact had accused the BJP for having brought communal politics on to the national agenda, and he specifically said Mr. Advani's rathayatra marked a watershed in that religion was brought into open play during elections. He had also attacked the Centre for its inaction.

However, there were many speakers who also agreed with the points made by the BJP leader Mr. L. K. Advani that in the last five years the NIC had met three times and twice Ayodhya was the agenda, and surely other issues facing the

country in Kashmir and in Punjab were of crucial importance and must be discussed by the NIC. The Prime Minister in his opening remarks also conceded this.

Voices from the Janata Dal camp demanded action by the Centre against the U.P. Government, but the Prime Minister pointed out in his closing remarks that the Centre was fully conscious of its role, but how it would play that role, how visible it would be, whether through strident action or through friendly advice, should be left entirely to the Government. He assured those who had accused it of inaction, that it had been playing its role and would continue to do so. He also silenced his critics by pointing out that when a Chief Minister gave assurances, he was not in a position to say that he did not believe him. And the Council resolution 'noted' the assurances given by Mr. Kalyan Singh and to that extent had committed the BJP to finding an amicable solution and pending that respect and implement all court orders related to the Ayodhya cases.

Optimism

The NIC, which was first constituted way back in 1962, is about the best represented political forum, including as it does all Chief Ministers, all leaders of national and regional political parties and eminent men and women from all walks of life, besides of course the Prime Minister and senior Ministers of the Government. This was the first meeting of the reconstituted NIC. The morning session lasted for three hours, from 10:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m. and again the members met after lunch for nearly six hours, from 3 p.m. to 8:45 p.m.

At the very outset the Prime Minister had stated that if the NIC could help in cooling passions, it would have done its job, and there was no doubt in anyone's mind at the end of the day that strident stands in opposing camps had been toned down, that a feared walkout by the BJP had been averted, and a way had been paved for a sincere effort at a negotiated settlement of the dispute.

UNI PTI report:

The Home Minister, Mr. S. B. Chavan, said subversive and unpatriotic forces had forged an unholy alliance with "forces outside the country." The Centre was deeply concerned over the resurgence of the Ayodhya issue and the threat it had represented to the peace and harmony in the country.

"It is incumbent upon all of us to act rationally and with restraint, keeping in mind the welfare of the people. We must display a spirit of accommodation and respect for each others' religious faith. We must find a just and reasonable solution to this difficult problem," he said.

The Akali leader, Mr. Simranjit Singh Mann stayed away from the meeting after he was not allowed to enter the Parliament Annexe with his three-foot long sword.

Membership of National Integration Council

92AS0279A Madras INDIAN EXPRESS in English
26 Oct 91 p 11

[Article: "NIC To Have 141 Members"]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 25—Leaders of fundamentalist organisations like Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] and Ittehadul Muslimeen and representatives of big business and industrial houses have been accommodated for the first time in the reconstituted National Integration Council (NIC) which is meeting in the capital on Nov. 2.

The meeting, which is to discuss the communal situation in the country in the wake of simmering Ayodhya dispute, was initially scheduled for Nov. 8. It had, however, to be advanced taking into consideration the coming bye-elections.

The reconstituted NIC has in all 141 members consisting of union ministers, leaders of national political parties, chief ministers, leaders of regional parties, businessmen, media and women's representatives and prominent public figures.

While Mr. Vishnu Hari Dalmia, president of Vishwa Hindu Parishad, has been nominated to the NIC, Mr. Salahuddin Owaisi will sit at this important forum on behalf of the Ittehadul Muslimeen. Prof. V. K. Gokak represents Satya Sai Baba Trust and Acharya Tulsi, the Jain Vikas Bharati.

Among the new entrants in the reconstituted NIC include Mr. N. D. Tiwari, Mr. Satyajit Ray, Mr. Gopeshwar, Mr. J.R.D. Tata, Lt. Gen. J. S. Aurora, Mr. S. Ramakrishnan of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Mr. Sunil Dutt, Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi, Mr. A. R. Antulay, Mr. A. Minz, Mr. Ram Sunder Das, Maulana Hasan Madani, Dr. C. Narayana Reddy, Mr. Pinto Narboo, Swamy Ranganathananda, Mr. Salim Mian, Allan De-Lastic, Archbishop of Delhi, Mr. Saifuddin Soz, Mr. M. J. Akbar, Mr. Chandrasekhar Reddy, Beum Abida Ahmed and Dr. (Mrs.) Najma Haptulla.

At least four businessmen have been for the first time given representation in the NIC. They are Mr. S. K. Birla, Mr. Raunaq Singh, Mr. V. L. Dutt, president of FICCI [Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry] and Mr. Vijay Kulkarni.

The last meeting of the NIC was held in Madras on Sep. 22, 1990, amid controversy on the Ayodhya issue. The meeting was boycotted by the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] on the issue of leakage of an NIC sub-committee report on the temple controversy. Late Rajiv Gandhi had then strongly advised the then Prime Minister, Mr. V. P. Singh, to take hard line against any unilateral temple building activity.

Following is the composition of the National Integration Council:

Union Ministers and Chief Ministers.

Prime Minister—chairman.

Members: Union Home Minister, Finance Minister, Human Resource Development Minister, Welfare Minister, Parliamentary Affairs, Railways Minister, Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting, Chief Ministers of all the states and union territories which have legislatures.

President, Indian National Congress, Mr. S. R. Bommai, president, Janata Dal, Dr. M. M. Joshi, president, Bhartiya Janata Party, Mr. H. S. Surjit, member, polit bureau, CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist], Mr. Indrajit Gupta, general secretary, CPI [Communist Party of India], Mr. Sarat Chandra Sinha, president, Indian Congress (Socialist—Sarat Chandra Sinha), Dr. Subramanian Swamy, president, Janata Party (JP), Mr. Ram Awadesh Choudhury, president, Lok Dal (B), Mr. Devi Lal, president, Janata Dal (S).

Selvi J. Jayalalitha, general secretary, AIADMK [All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam], Mr. Chitta Basu, general secretary, All-India Forward Bloc, Mr. Prafulla Kumar Mahanta, president, Asom Gana Parishad, Dr. M. Karunanidhi, president, DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam], Dr. Farooq Abdullah, president, Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, Shri Tridib Choudhury, general secretary Revolutionary Socialist Party, Mr. Bhandari, president, Sikkim Sangram Parishad, Mr. N. T. Rama Rao, president, Telugu Desam Party, Mr. P. J. Joseph, chairman, Kerala Congress, Mr. Kanshi Ram, president, Bhaujan Samaj Party, Mr. Kabul Singh, president, Bhaujan Samaj Party, Mr. Kabul Singh, president, Shiromani Akali Dal, Syed Mohammed Ali Shihab Thangal, president, Muslim League, Kerala, Mr. Bala-saheb Thackery, president, Shiv Sena, Mr. R. D. Khalap, president, Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party, Mr. K. M. Mani, chairman, Kerala Congress (M), Mr. Shibu Soren, president, Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, Mr. David Ledger, general secretary, Natun Asom Gana Parishad, Mr. H. S. Lyngdoh, president, Hill State People's Democratic Party, Mr. Y. Yaima Singh, president Manipur People's Party, Mr. Bansi Lal, president, Haryana Vikas Party, Mr. Vizol, president, Nagaland People's Council.

Mr. Surjit Singh Barnala, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, Sardar Swaran Singh, Mr. Ebrahim Suleiman Sait, Mr. N. D. Tiwari, Syed Mir Kasim, Mr. P. N. Haksar, Mr. Prakash Singh Badla, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Mr. L. K. Advani, Mr. Satyajit Ray, Mr. Gopeshwar, Mr. J.R.D. Tata, Lt. Gen. J. S. Aurora (Retd), Mr. S. Ramakrishna, executive secretary, Bhartiya Vidhya Bhavan, Prof. V. K. Gokak, Satya Sai Baba Trust, Archarya Tulsi, Jain Vishwa Bharati, Mr. Prakash Ambedkar, Mr. Sarad Joshi, Shetkari Sangthan, Mr. Sunil Dutt, Big T. Sailo, Mr. Raj Mohan Gandhi, Mr. Sultan Salahuddin Owaisi, Ms. Shabana Azmi, Mr. A.R. Antulay, Fr. A. Minz, Legal Bureau of Catholic Archdiocese, Mr. Ram Sunder Das, Mr. Kokishe Sema, Maulana Hasan Madani, Mr. M. Farooqi, Mr. Javid Habib, Mr. Shahid Siddiqi, Mr. M. Afzal, Mr. Bhisham Sahani, Prof. Satish Chandra, Mr. K.F. Rustamji, Dr. C. Narajayna Reddy, Mr. Subhash Gheising, Mr. Pinto Narboo, Swami Ranganathanada, Mr. Salim Mian, Allan de-Lastic, Archibishop of Delhi, Mr. Mohit Sen, Mr. Saifuddin Soz, Mr. V.P. Singh, Mr. M.J. Akbar, Mr. V.H. Dalmia, Mr. Simranjit Singh Mann.

Mr. S. K. Birla, chairman, VXL India Ltd., Mr. Raunaq Singh, Mr. V. L. Dutt, president, FICCI, Mr. Vijay G. Kalantri, Mr. G. Ramanujam, president, INTUC [Indian National Trade Union Congress], Mr. Chaturanan Misra,

president, AITUC, Mr. E. Balananda, centre of Indian Trade Unions, Smt. Kamla Sinha, president, Ind Mazdoor Sabha, Mr. R.B. Joshi, president, Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh, Mr. S.M.H. Bune, chairman, Minorities Commission, Dr. G. Ramareddy, chairman, University Grants Commission.

Mr. Ram Dhan, chairman, SCs and STs [scheduled castes, scheduled tribes] Commission, Mr. Nikhil Chakravarty, Mr. Prabhu Chawla, Mr. Prabhush Joshi, Mr. R. K. Misra, Mr. Abid Ali Khan, Mr. Ramoji Rao, Mr. Madhav Gadkari, Mr. Khushwant Singh, Mr. B. G. Verghese, Mr. Inderjit, Mr. Prem Bhatia, Mr. Govind Rao Talwalkar, Mr. D. P. Kumar, Mr. Chandrasekhar Reddy, Begum Abida Ahmed, Mrs. Ela Bhatt, Begum Aizaz Rasul, Mrs. Seila Damodar Menon, Mrs. Nirmala Deshpande, Dr. Najma Heptulla.

Article Calls for 'Bold, Imaginative' Leadership

92AS0290C Secunderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 25 Oct 91 p 8

[Article by Dileep Padgaonkar: "Prophets of India's Doom"]

[Text] In a public expression of candour not quite in tune with his calling, a West European ambassador observed the other day that India, given its pile of intractable problems, may not be able to remain in one piece for long. At that same gathering, a representative of one of the World's largest banks, also a West European, pooh-poohed the contention that democracy provided a congenial environment for speedy economic growth. Oddly, enough, several Indians prominent in the fields of business and industry appeared to share these views. Some of them went so far as to suggest that it might not be inappropriate after all to entertain the thought of an India fragmented into smaller more viable sovereign nations.

Some of the reasons for this defeatism are easily explained. The kidnapping in broad daylight of the Romanian charge d'affaires in the very heart of the Capital has jolted the diplomatic community in Delhi. For the first time it has directly felt the heat of Sikh terrorism. It now knows that it is vulnerable. By the same token it has been made to realise the magnitude of the challenge the Indian state faces in its efforts to counter the forces of separatism.

If the spreading incidence of separatist and other forms of violence inspire doubts about India's viability as a united nation, exasperation about real or perceived uncertainties regarding the government's new economic policies account for the West European banker's contention that democracy can be a hindrance in the country's march towards a full-fledged market economy. Apart from the fear that bureaucrats, unwilling to cede their authority and influence, are determined to wreck the liberal policies, the banker, like many Indian businessmen, also dreads the thought that other powerful lobbies—notably the trade unions, the environmentalists and sundry radicals—will prevent India from emulating the successful economies of the old and new Asian tigers. As it happens, democracy, as

the West and India commonly understand it, is looked upon with deep scepticism in these countries.

However, to grasp the real import of the pessimistic forecasts about India, it is necessary to place them within the context of the far-reaching changes presently taking place in the country. Stated schematically the old order in India—which drew sustenance from the licence—permit raj, an intolerable degree of concentration of power in the office of the prime minister, the attendant imbalances in Centre-state relations and a propensity for high-blown rhetoric in the conduct of foreign policy—is swiftly yielding place to another order whose contours are as yet obscure. The resulting uncertainty, coupled with some degree of dithering by the government, perpetual bickerings in the Janata Dal-NF [National Front] combine and the aggressive drive of the Hindutva forces, inspires the feeling of defeatism.

The government and, indeed, the political class as a whole seem unwilling to look beyond immediate, tactical gain. Consensus is a prized word in the prime minister's lexicon but the country is yet to witness tangible results from the consultations he reportedly holds with the opposition leaders. It is thus truly extraordinary that leaders right across the political spectrum appear not to be shaken to the roots by the kidnapping of the Romanian charge d'affaires and more so by the horrendous Ramlila massacre in U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] In much the same vein the non-BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] parties appear to have been taken by surprise by the Kalyan Singh government's latest moves in Ayodhya. From many accounts, the Centre was said to be of the firm opinion that once in office, the BJP, regardless of its election manifesto, would demonstrate its maturity and ensure that the Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi controversy was not given a fresh lease of life. As it has turned out, the Centre's assumption was naive at best and at worst an appalling example of self-deception.

On other fronts too—notably economic and foreign policies—brave words and several brave deeds have given way to hollow rhetoric and not a little ambivalence. The government's stand on a host of issues ranging from the Super 301 to the fate of inefficient public sector undertakings, from its now-hot-now-cold attitude to Pakistan and its coy approach to the emerging relationship with the United States has demonstrated over and over again the absence of a coherent policy framework. A mere reiteration of just principles—independence of decisionmaking, integration with the world economy, the Nehru line and so forth—gets you nowhere. If anything it appears to be a superficial gloss to actions dictated by expediency.

The emerging order must of necessity take into full account the evolving nature of our national susceptibilities. Thus the country is from all accounts prepared to go along with the government's efforts to dismantle the licence-permit structure. But it will not tolerate slights coming from whichever quarter. Nor can it accept any pronounced bias in favour of the haves. Take the exit policy. It will gradually come to be accepted if it is not to mean a

hire-and-fire prerogative vested in managements to deal with redundant labour when faulty management invites no retribution whatsoever.

Similarly, much of the political class, like the intelligentsia sometimes appears to slur over the fact that those who need the state most are the Dalits, the minorities and the poor generally. By definition they have the strongest stakes in democracy and in a vibrant patriotism. Unlike the well-to-do and the well-connected—whose patriotism begins to falter when the prospect of a green-card or half-a-percent increase in interest rates is in sight—these sections of the population have no one to turn to for succour other than the state and they have no hope of bringing about some sunshine in their lives other than through the vote they possess to chastise errant rulers.

What the country thus urgently needs is a set of ideas, policies, symbols and institutions which command instant loyalty from all sections of our people. Consolidating democracy and speeding up economic growth have necessarily to figure on the very top of the national agenda. The first task would call for marginalising those who wield money and muscle power to subvert the electoral process and those who exploit religious prejudice and caste bias for political gain. The second task cannot be effectively undertaken if market forces alone are allowed to rule the roost without a thought to consideration of equity, the safeguarding of the environment and the decentralisation of political and economic power.

In all these matters a consensus between various political parties and interest groups would clearly work to the country's advantage. But should consensus prove elusive—as it has again and again in the recent past—then the only alternative is bold and imaginative leadership. One obvious way to dispel the current sense of drift would be for the P.V. Narasimha Rao government to command a majority of its own in the Lok Sabha. The Congress prospects in the forthcoming by-elections are by no means dim. But such success as the party might obtain in these elections would clearly not enable it comfortably to govern the country for the remaining term of the Lok Sabha. Sooner or later substantial sections of the Janata Dal will have to move to the treasury benches.

Even that, however, would be of little avail unless the government is streamlined, especially on the home and external affairs fronts, and unless senior members of the prime minister's cabinet are seen to be actively defending its innovative policies. In Dr. Manmohan Singh and Mr. P. Chidambaram, Mr. Rao has forceful and articulate advocates on his line; however, in the absence of more vocal support from the other ministers they sometimes give the impression of whistling in the dark. With his position vastly strengthened now that Mrs. Sonia Gandhi has refused to join politics, the prime minister is better placed to seek and readily obtain the cooperation of his colleagues. By and by, the prophets of India's doom, both foreign and indigenous, will be persuaded that, contrary to surface appearances, the nation has not embarked on a roller-coaster ride.

Interview With CPI-M Politburo Member Surjeet Singh

92AS0274A New Delhi PATRIOT in English 9 Oct 91 p 5

[Article by C.L. Manoj; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Like most of his party colleagues, CPI-M [Communist Party of India-Marxist] politbureau member Harkishan Singh Surjeet is an angry man these days. He finds many of the things around going to the wrong direction.

During an interview with PATRIOT, he hit out to everything that Mikhail Gorbachev is doing. He is fully convinced that the Soviet President is out to restore capitalism. He believes that the intention of those who organised the 'coup' was right, but is not clear why they failed.

If the Soviet development annoys him, the CPI's [Communist Party of India] call for the unity of the two Communist Parties irritates him. He asks "I don't know why they are unnecessarily raising this issue?"

But there is one thing that makes him happy China. Mr. Surjeet, who has just returned from China after a short visit, thinks the Chinese Communist Party is on the right path. "Their reforms are succeeding. No problem," he says.

Excerpts from interview:

Question: You have just come back from China. How does the Chinese leadership look at the Narasimha Rao Government?

Answer: They are only bothered about general things. They don't interfere in the internal matters of other countries. They want good relations among all countries on the basis of their five principles.

Q: The Chinese Premier is coming on a very significant visit to India. What will be their approach?

A: Yes, it is going to be a big event. The outcomes depends on how the two countries approach the issues. Here almost all political parties want better relations between them. They also have the same desire. They have assured us that there will be a good response from their side.

Q: Did they discuss the border problem?

A: It should be discussed between the two Governments. We can only emphasise it. In fact, we have been struggling for that. Even when there was a big void between India and China, we had been telling that the border problem should be settled through negotiations and there should not be any war at all. We are happy that all political parties are now supporting that line. So they are now coming with an open mind.

Visit to China

Q: This was your first visit to China after the collapse of the Soviet system. So, it had a special significance?

A: This was only part of a normal routine visit. Regarding the Soviet developments, China has already made its stand

clear. They will adhere to Marxism-Leninism and will carry out certain reforms that fit to the Chinese conditions and will follow the path of socialism. It is a very clear position. They had made it clear in the past also that the development of a socialist system will take some time. It can't be done in a few days or years.

Q: Have the developments in the Soviet Union made any impact on the Chinese Communist Party and its outlook?

A: How can they make any impact. They are not going to welcome the destruction of the Soviet Union and the restoration of capitalism there. How can anybody welcome it.

Q: Recently Mr. James Baker and Mr. John Major complained about human right violations in China. How they look at this charge in the backdrop of the changed political atmosphere?

A: They have always been stating their position. A counter-revolution is taking place in the Soviet Union. By exploiting the situation some imperialists are trying to destabilise China. In spite of these big talks in the West, when they went there, they made only a mention. Nothing much was there.

Q: What about the pro-democracy students there. The students who led the agitation at the Tiananmen Square. What is their attitude now?

A: That issue is no more there. Because economic reforms have done a lot. One can make out that from their living standards; good food, clothings and all. Shops are full of goods. So the youngsters are satisfied. In fact, we went to Tiananmen Square also. That day was their national day and we saw people celebrating with much enthusiasm.

Tibetan issue

Q: Then what about the Tibetan issue. Recently, they said they were working on a constitution and the changes in the Soviet Union have given them the confidence?

A: Oh! They have been always shouting. This Dalai Lama and his men always do it. They have always been backed by foreign powers. But what they could achieve during all these years? The Chinese people don't take them seriously. We went to the Tibetan area also. Met people belonging to different nationalities. They are all happy with the developments after these reforms. No problem.

Q: That means the developments in the neighbouring Soviet Union are not at all affecting China?

A: No. Nothing. They said things were under control. In fact, there condition is different from that of the Soviet Union. Ninety-two percent of the Chinese population belongs to one nationality. Only eight percent consists of different nationalities. So they don't have the ethnic problem as in the case of the Soviet Union.

Q: So, the Chinese reforms are going steadily. How did the Gorbachev reforms land in trouble?

A: The Chinese started reforms much before Gorbachev. In fact, Gorbachev criticised them then. The difference

between the Chinese reforms and Gorbachev's reforms is that the former always keep their public sector the strongest. Ninety percent of the production comes from that sector. At the same time by introducing the farm leasing system they have been able to increase production. At the same time, China keeps the basic idea and perception of building socialism, reforming and renewing the socialist system. But Gorbachev started with that aim but later began restoring capitalism. You see everybody welcomed his reforms when he started them.

Q: Everybody supported them?

A: Yes, everybody supported them.

Q: You mean the CPI-M supported glasnost and perestroika they were introduced?

Social democrat

A: Earlier, earlier. In the beginning. We supported perestroika because we needed it. Reforms are needed in the economic sector. But what has happened subsequently is that instead of renewing socialism Gorbachev has taken a social democrat's position. Openly he has stated that when he came out with his programmes, then it was a period of concentration on the industrial revolution and now the situation has changed, and there is no relevance of class struggle itself in that sense. He introduced market economy without any planning and coordination that are needed to protect socialism. And now we are seeing the results of his reforms. He is not begging from the Americans. Just see the plight of a great country of which even the Americans were scared of. Now Baker comes and dictates, 'you withdraw troops from Cuba.' Gorbachev says, (gestures a salute) 'Yes sir, we withdraw.' This is the situation now. So, you can very well imagine what kind of reform it was. He started with the renewal of socialism and now something else is happening. He now doesn't talk about imperialism. He has now given up even the word socialism. In front of his eyes the statues of Lenin were removed. But he didn't feel concerned about it. The basic ideals have been detached. So that is why the whole trouble there.

Just imagine a fellow talks about democracy and at the same time dissolves the Communist Party. He became a leader in the name of the Communist Party and dissolved the party at one stroke. And on top of it he enjoys majority support among the members of the Supreme Soviet. They all say they are communists (laughs)—The communists who are banning the Communist Party, the communists who are seizing the party's property. The machinery which played such an important role has been crushed. It is not reform. It is demolition. For whose sake? Who will benefit by it? Only the imperialists and those who want to reverse the history of socialism.

Q: So, you think Gorbachev is an anti-Communist?

A: Yeh! Yeh! I won't say. I am seeing from his action. I am talking about his present action. It is leading to the restoration of capitalism, and serving the interests of imperialists. Leaving Cuba undefended. He didn't even put any conditions to Americans for withdrawing the

troops. He just agreed whatever they asked for. Is it solidarity? Can any socialist country take such a position?

History will answer

Q: Still the people of the Soviet Union stood by him. They brought him back to power?

A: Are! People brought him back or who brought him back. Leave that question. History will answer it.

Q: Then tell me if Gorbachev was wrong in everything, then why people crushed those who tried to remove him?

A: Oh, there were no people for two days. No strikes for two days. All that is a different story. Leave it there.

Q: No, Mr. Surjeet, people want an answer. You say Gorbachev is restoring capitalism. But those people who enjoyed the fruits of the communist rule for the last 74 years back him.

A: Forget about those 74 years. They demolished the Communist Party during the last five years. They paralysed the party. He changed those leaders who were resisting it, brought in new ones. First Yeltsin, then Shevardnadze and so on. They all left him. Ideologically, he disarmed the party, disarmed the people. He gave them the hope of integration with the European Community. A new home, European home. Except his foreign policy which helped in averting a nuclear war, what are his other achievements. He made an unhistorical analysis of history and now says there was nothing in the Soviet Union. He unleashed such forces which are out to restore capitalism there. What is there in his hand now. What can he do now. And people now say that, even some people among us, it is unfortunate that Gorbachev's experiment has failed. As if he has done something great. Just see the situation in the Soviet Union, the country which changed the whole history. The country which routed the fascist advance, the land of Lenin, who inspired all revolutionaries throughout the world. Just see.

Q: If it is like that then how does Gorbachev still remain in power?

A: I have explained. He demolished the whole party.

Q: The Soviet Communist Party is a massive outfit. It has got around 40 million members. How can one man demolish it. Just like that?

A: I am telling you. Slowly, slowly he did it. He started with quoting Lenin, socialism and all. He even warned the Americans. Then he started shifting, changed leadership. People thought he was determined to improve the system. Then he started alienating the party, he called those so called referendums, even deleted the word socialism. So the whole thing was heading towards trouble.

Q: Then, after seeing this trouble, Yanayev and his seven men tried to reverse the whole thing?

A: But what did they say first? What has happened is now part of history. But what did they say in the statement? Nothing was wrong. Everybody accepted it. It was correct. Everybody supported it.

Q: But not the people?

A: Are. I am not talking about the people and who brought whom. Let them go to... I am not saying who failed and who succeeded. What I am saying is the whole leadership thought the situation has become very bad and he is bungling. That was the conclusion they reached. Then what happened we are not going to say. Let history answer it.

Q: But will you agree with me, if I tell you that the people crushed those who organised the coup because they conspired, resorted to anti-constitutional methods and tried to defy the will of the people?

No comment

A: Facts are not available before us. Without that we can't analyse it. So I don't want to comment on it.

Q: But the CPI-M has welcomed the coup?

A: We never used the word 'coup'. One man vs the whole cabinet which says the whole thing was wrong. I know how a democratic party functions. For one man there is no meaning. So it is not that simple.

Q: Did the Chinese Communist Party appreciate your party's stand on the Soviet development?

A: Why should they. Our stand is known. They don't interfere in others' matters. All of us are worried about the Soviet Union. The Chinese party has appreciated the work we are doing here. We have very good relations.

Q: Did you see the CPI's political document on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union?

A: I have just gone through it. It won't be proper to comment on it without analysing it seriously.

Impact of setback

Q: What will be the impact of the Soviet setback on the Indian communists?

A: It is bound to make some impact. Because it was a country where the revolution had taken place. An event that changed the whole history. So now there will be some confusion among people that if the socialist revolution could not succeed there, what is the guarantee that it will succeed here. But as far as we are concerned, I can assure you that, right from the beginning we said as far as Indian revolution is concerned we have to think ourselves. Moreover, it is known that our party has been opposed by the Soviet Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party in the past. But nothing could weaken us. The Soviet Communist Party openly denounced us and tried its best to destroy us. Even then we survived. We will do the same now also.

Q: The CPI says that in order to peace this new challenging situation, the CPI and the CPI-M should unite. What do you say?

A: Unity on what basis? In supporting Gorbachev. This unity will not help the growth of the Communist movement. Their views are totally divergent from ours and we

are fully convinced that unless they based themselves on Marxism-Leninism, either you define theory or denounce it, there is no other way. Either you go as social democrats or remain as Communists. No other way. I don't know why they are raising the question of unity. Unnecessarily they are imposing this question. The unity can be only on some ideological grounds. You support Gorbachev, say his policies are strengthening socialism. But I say he is not restoring socialism. So how can we unite.

Q: But they say the main factor that resulted in the split in 1964 was Maoism and it is no more relevant?

Differences

A: Not at all. Then people don't know history. We have printed a book on the differences with the CPI. The struggle started as back as 1955. On the question of the Party's attitude towards the Central Government. On the assessment of the class nature of the Government. And our view has stood the test of time.

Q: But now the CPI and the CPI-M are jointly fighting the Congress. So do you think that difference is still relevant?

A: Oh! They have given up the stand long back. They learned from experience. And now we are cooperating on many issues and that is why we are emphasising the need for united actions.

Q: If you can cooperate on issues, if you can take united actions, then why not unity?

A: No. The Communists can't just get united on current tactical lines.

Q: Recently Mr. Indrajit Gupta said as far his party is concerned there is no major issue that prevents unity. He said the CPI-M is not even prepared for a dialogue on the issue?

A: They never invited us for a dialogue. There was no correspondence between us, no proposals were forwarded. That means they are not serious. Statements in the press cannot be taken seriously. As far as differences are concerned. There are many; not just Maoism. There were many differences.

Q: But don't you think there is a feeling among the cadres in favour of a single Communist Party?

A: We are for close cooperation between all the Communist Parties. But unity is a different thing. How can there be unity with so many differences. We should not unite only to split the next day.

Surjeet Tells Newsmen of CPI-M Politburo Meet

Topics of Discussion

92AS0275A Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
11 Oct 91 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, 10 October: China's decision to adhere to the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism has been welcomed by the Communist Party of India (Marxist) [CPI-M]. "The reforms in China have been successful, food and clothing

have been provided and there is enough agricultural production," Mr. Harkishan Singh Surjeet, member Politburo said.

Giving details of the two-day meeting of the Politburo, Mr. Surjeet said China was following the path of Marxism-Leninism with Chinese characteristics. "The emphasis is on following the Socialist road, it may take a long time to achieve full results but the path has been chosen and this makes us happy."

A two-member delegation of the party, which went to China, discovered that 50 percent of the area was irrigated and science and technology had been made use of. The balance of payment position was quite good and in the industrial sector, the public sector had proved its superiority.

Mr. Surjeet said during the recent floods in the country, when 20 percent of the population and 20 percent of land was affected, the Red Army and members of the party "played an important role to see that no epidemic followed."

The Chinese, according to Mr. Surjeet, expressed the desire to improve Indo-Chinese ties. The Chinese Prime Minister will visit India later this year, he added.

The discussion on China was taken up while referring to the changes in the Soviet Union and other parts of the world. The full details of the discussion on the ideological question and the report on China would be released only after it was presented to the central committee.

The Politburo has also asked political parties to accept the consensus arrived at, regarding the implementation of the Mandal Commission report. Mr. Surjeet said the Government's decision went a long way in satisfying the different views. He said people should accept the Government formula and concentrate on other problems facing the country.

The Politburo expressed deep concern at the inflationary trends in the economy, which has led to an all round escalation of prices. In this connection, a call has been made for an all-India strike on 29 November.

Referring to the threats to the unity of the country, Mr. Surjeet pointed out the stand of the U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] Government on the Ayodhya issue. The Politburo, he said, demanded an immediate convening of the National Integration Council to discuss the issue.

The situation in Punjab and in Jammu and Kashmir, Mr. Surjeet said, had deteriorated. He said there was no urgency on the part of the Government to tackle the issue.

He said, the para-military forces in Punjab should be strengthened and the corrupt officials should be weeded out. "The Government should come forward with a political solution. There has to be rethinking on the Centre-State relations if the country is to remain united." Mr. Surjeet felt that the majority of the people in Punjab were not in favour of Khalistan.

Relying on the Army in Kashmir would not help, Mr. Surjeet said. The Government should form advisory committees and should establish contact with the people in order to restore peace in the area, he felt.

The Politburo also viewed with concern the visit of Ms. Carla Hills, the U.S. Trade Representative, and said that the USA was dictating terms to India. The party demanded a detailed discussion on the issue in Parliament, before the Government committed itself to any position detrimental to the country's interest, Mr. Surjeet said.

More on Communique

92AS0275B Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
11 Oct 91 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, 10 October: The CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] politburo, which held its two-day meeting here earlier this week, has expressed concern over the "inner situation in the Janata Dal which is embroiled in internal controversies which detracts from strengthening the unity of democratic and secular forces who are called upon to meet the many challenges facing the country."

The politburo communique on the current political situation also expressed hope that the Janata Dal would be "able to put its house in order and contribute to the strengthening of the common movement against policies of the government and against the communal danger."

Speaking to newsmen this afternoon, the senior politburo member, Mr. Harkishen Singh Surjeet, was forthright in his criticism of the open factionalism within the Janata Dal. He said, "I can understand policy differences but there is no issue involved here. Everyday, some statements are being made by leaders against each other. Everyday, some one is resigning or making an issue of posts. It is very unfortunate that when there are so many important issues, they (the Janata Dal leaders) are indulging in this."

When a newsman pointed out that the Janata Dal had always been riven with factionalism and yet the Left chose it as an ally, Mr. Surjeet said, "There is no bourgeois party in which there are no groups. I had been in the Congress since childhood and there was always more than one faction within the Congress in Punjab. Groups within a party is not a new thing. But here there is no issue involved... People do not expect this kind of behaviour."

When a newsman suggested that perhaps the Janata Dal had run out of a platform after the Congress(I) had taken over the Mandal issue, Mr. Surjeet said, "I don't think there is no platform. We gave them a platform on 27 September (the day the Left-National Front [NF] rally against economic policies was held.)"

Last year, too, the CPI(M) had expressed concern over the continuing factionalism in the Janata Dal. When a newsman asked how long they would continue to "express concern," Mr. Surjeet promptly retorted, "Till they go on fighting."

In reply to a question on whether the internal differences in the Janata Dal would impair Left-Janata Dal ties, Mr. Surjeet said, "No. All of them (the various factions) have good relations with us."

Differences on quotas: Besides, the issue of infighting, the CPI(M) also made an oblique criticism of the Janata Dal's intransigent attitude towards the government's new reservation policy and refusal to accept the economic criterion within the 27 percent quota reserved for other backward classes.

Welcoming the new reservation policy, the politburo statement said, "This is a formula which was advocated by the CPI(M) as a reasonable basis for a consensus. Acceptance of such a formula will protect the principle of social justice and help arrive at a wider understanding to avert further divisiveness."

Though the statement did not identify the Janata Dal, Mr. Surjeet later said, "Political parties should behave responsibly, issues which divide people should not be highlighted or used for partisan gains."

In what appeared to be a direct attack against certain Janata Dal leaders, Mr. Surjeet said, "Those who are not satisfied with the policy, what do they want? Why are they against the economic criteria? Do they want the jobs to be filled only by the rich among the backwards?"

In reply to a question, however, Mr. Surjeet denied that he meant to criticise the Janata Dal as a whole and reiterated that the Janata Dal leaders should take up issues concerning the people instead of raking up caste divisions.

NF candidate for Nandyal: Mr. Surjeet reaffirmed that the National Front and the Left parties were consulting each other on a suitable candidate to be fielded against the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, in the Nandyal byelections. Mr. Surjeet said they were not impressed with Mr. N.T. Rama Rao's argument about Mr. Rao representing "Telugu pride."

Regarding a report that the CPI [Communist Party of India], took, had decided not to oppose Mr. Narasimha Rao, Mr. Surjeet said, "You can ask the CPI about that. But at our meeting here, the CPI also agreed that we should put up a candidate against the Prime Minister."

Press Reports, Comments on Planned CPI Congress

15th Congress Dates

92AS0272A Madras THE HINDU in English
25 Oct 91 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, 24 October: The 15th congress of the Communist Party of India (CPI) will be held in Hyderabad from 7 to 13 April and this will be preceded by meetings of the party's central executive committee and the national council in December and January.

Report on Central Executive Meeting

92AS0272B New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English
4 Oct 91 p 6

[Boldface words as published]

[Text] The Communist Party of India (CPI) on Thursday criticised USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev for his role after the coup in Russia, when he not only resigned from the general secretaryship of the Communist Party of Soviet Union (CPSU), but also suggested to disband the CPSU's Central Committee.

Briefing the press in the Capital on Thursday, CPI National Council member M.M. Farooqi maintained that it was necessary for Mr. Gorbachev to prepare the party and mobilise it, when the CPSU had failed to stem the coup. But Mr. Gorbachev jumped from one set of programmes to another, he added.

Mr. Farooqi, however, said the CPI still stands by its decision taken in the 14th Congress of the CPI in 1989, that the CPI would generally support the process of perestroika and glasnost under Mr. Gorbachev's leadership.

Mr. Farooqi also released a document on "Developments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe" adopted in the Central Executive Committee's meeting held in the Capital on 29-30 September this year. The document would provide a basis for discussion in the party ranks at all levels.

He informed that the CPI would open a discussion forum in party journals to enable comrades to express their viewpoints freely. The discussion would finally be rounded up at the forthcoming 15th congress of the CPI in March-April, 1992.

However, Mr. Farooqi confirmed that most of the CPI members sharply criticised Mr. Gorbachev's role aftermath the coup, while preparing the document in the party's Central Executive Committee meeting.

Asked if the CPI has come closer to the CPI-M's [Communist Party of India-Marxist] stand on Mr. Gorbachev's role, Mr. Farooqi said it was a turning point for the CPI, when Mr. Gorbachev allowed the incidents overtaking the party (CPSU) and it was rendered ineffective and remained, by and large, demobilised. However, we do not accept that Mr. Gorbachev is a CIA agent, he added.

The document read: "The unabashed protagonists of market economy unleashed a propaganda barrage which astonished even non-Communist economists around the world. Euphoria of East-West detente was allowed to stoop to under-estimation of imperialism and its pernicious role in world politics. This manifested in providing support to the U.S. war against Iraq and more blatantly in announcing Soviet army's withdrawal from Cuba even without consulting the Cuban leadership... The Central Executive Committee of the CPI held that Gorbachev cannot be absolved of his responsibility in connection with some of these developments."

Confirming the CPI's faith in the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mr. Farooqi said developments in the

Soviet Union and Eastern Europe did not indicate that the communism had collapsed. The CPI holds that it was a collapse of "Stalinist Model," which had undemocratic and bureaucratic features.

This could have been avoided if the new economic policy, as projected by Lenin, would not have been given a go-bye during the period of Stalin. Mr. Farooqi said that for Lenin, more of Communism means more of democracy.

Ayodhya Dispute: The Central Executive Committee of the CPI also adopted a resolution on Ayodhya dispute, expressing grave concern at the aggressive designs of the BJP-VHP [Bharatiya Janata Party-Vishwa Hindu Parishad] combine to whip up communal passions on the issue.

Mr. Farooqi said the BJP Government in UP [Uttar Pradesh] is openly violating the law by announcing the building of Ram temple at a disputed site in Ayodhya, even when the legal proceedings are going on in the Allahabad High Court. He also lashed out at the VHP which had threatened to identify and demolish about 30,000 mosques in total violation of the Shrines bill passed by the Parliament.

The CPI appealed to all secular democratic parties and forces to rise above political differences to face the grave communal challenge.

Document a Forerunner to Congress

92AS0272C Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
28 Oct 91 p 3

[Article by Sumit Sen]

[Text] Is the CPI [Communist Party of India] at its 15th party congress in April next year going to announce pursuing of an Indian brand of socialism deviating from the already discarded Soviet model and after the Party line by "integrating Marxist theory with specific conditions in India, the legacy and heritage of Indian culture, traditions and social developments?" This question is now uppermost in the minds of a host of party leaders and followers going by the current debates on the developments in Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and some other major issues. Even many do not rule out the possibility of the CPI adopting a nationalist stand on some vital matters in its future politics taking a cue from the Communist parties in Bangladesh.

The Central Executive Committee [CEC] of the party has recently formally noted that the party had learnt through expensive experience the necessity of eschewing doctrinarism and subjectivist blindness to the actual conditions, the revolutionary impatience to skip over stages of development. "What disastrous results dogmatism and the personality cult inflicted on our movement is recent memory," the CEC noted. The Committee, while highlighting the root of authoritarianism in the principle of democratic centralism also emphasized the importance of more inner party democracy. In fact, in the recent meetings of State councils of the party, the need for more openness and honouring of minority views have reportedly been underscored.

The principle of democratic centralism, according to the CEC gives rise to concentration of power and authority. This has been used by autocrats or a coterie to seize control of the party apparatus. The committee strongly felt that the evils of over-centralization or bureaucratism and suppression of inner-party democracy ought to be countered.

The CEC called for a broader support for socialism and included the working class, agricultural workers, the peasantry, the middle classes and the intelligentsia to hasten the process of socialism through cooperation. It emphasized democratic liberties and recognition of the right of political organization which visualised a multi-party system. The very concept of dictatorship of the proletariat has been questioned as the main source of the negation of democracy under socialism.

The committee, in its document on developments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe which is now being discussed and debated at various levels, stated that the party considered Soviet Union socialist, albeit highly distorted and perverted. In fact, it was socialism with democratic and bureaucratic features. In its document, the committee, unlike the Central Committee or the Politburo of the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist], strongly criticized Stalin for interrupting the new economic policy initiated by Lenin. While castigating President, Mikhail Gorbachev for committing several mistakes, it has, however, complimented his new initiatives in the international field in solving some long-standing disputes.

A section of party leaders, particularly in West Bengal has however, criticized the document for not sufficiently criticizing President Gorbachev for stepping down from the post of general secretary of CPSU and USSR's passive role during the Gulf war.

According to the CEC document, Mr. Gorbachev cannot avoid responsibility for the serious errors and failures which frustrated the implementation of his own reforms. These have led to many negative consequences threatening even the unity and stability of the Soviet State. Recently, after perestroika and glasnost in the Soviet Union, the Communist leadership in the other Eastern European countries had paid only lip service to democratization and restructuring.

They egoistically claimed that all was well with their regimes but the way they crumbled one after the other belied all such claims. In the Soviet Union perestroika ran into rough weather. Instead of preparing the ground for introducing economic reforms, things were done suddenly, paralysing the economic system. In the process of glasnost, a powerful campaign was unleashed against old values and theories. But the absence of an effective answer from the party leadership, an ideological void and confusion was created and allowed to continue.

The document strongly criticized the Stalin leadership for embarking upon a course of forcible collectivization of agriculture under conditions where the countryside lacked the economic, social and psychological basis for rapid transition to collectivization. By the mid-thirties, administration by command, coercion and State violence became

a regular instrument of social process. This took a heavy toll of human life and was done at a very high social cost. A totalitarian political structure from top to bottom was established.

For decades, the Communist Party of Soviet Union had functioned not only as the ruling party but also as the only political party in the Soviet Union with its monopoly and hegemony. Even after the period of personality cult, its functioning had been over-centralized lacking inner-party democracy.

The report and discussions in the party conferences also pointed out the growing gap between words and deeds, the pervasive corruption, self-seeking and privileges enjoyed by the party leaders and members.

The monopoly of political activity and power enjoyed by the party created a situation where all types of careerists, self-seekers and social-climbers flocked to the party and its composition was negatively affected. The rot continued, eroding the party without any effective check, the document observed.

CPI-M Releases Draft Resolutions for 14th Congress

Political Resolution

92AS0276A Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN
in English 27 Oct 91 p 7

[Article: "CPI(M) To Fight Cong(I) 'Authoritarianism'"]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 26—The CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] today reiterated its firm resolve to fight against what it called authoritarianism of the Congress(I) and its policy of succumbing to imperialist pressure, and to stave off the threat to national unity from the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and separatist forces by strengthening Left unity, reports PTI.

Releasing the 47-page draft political resolution for the 14th congress adopted by the four-day central committee meeting which concluded on October 22 here, party politburo member, Mr. Harkishen Singh Surjeet, said the resolutions covered wide-ranging issues covering international and national importance.

He said that the party pledged to fulfil its internationalist duties by mobilizing all sections of Indian people in the struggle against imperialism.

Referring to national situation, Mr. Surjeet said the country entered into political instability with two general elections in quick succession, reflecting the accentuation of the crisis in economic, political and social spheres and leading to a situation in which single party rule at the Centre was not possible.

The resolution expressed grave concern over the intensification of the separatist and terrorist activities in Kashmir and Punjab.

Stating about the National Front-Left ties, it said that it was not a stable and cohesive entity as it was riven by

dissensions both on policy and personality issues, continued quarrels in the Janata Dal and its compromising tendency with the BJP for some time.

It held the policies of import liberalizations, concessions to foreign capital and accepting the IMF-World Bank prescriptions responsible for country's unprecedented balance of payments crisis and further aggravation of the situation.

The party strongly opposed the dismantling of public sector saying it would end the path of self-reliance and development of indigenous research and imperil working class interest, Mr. Surjeet said.

On foreign policy, it strongly opposed the Chandra Shekhar Government allowing U.S. warplanes to refuel at Indian airports and described it as the first major policy decision by India, grossly violating the non-aligned policy.

Resolution stressed the need for further initiatives for improvement of relations, including the settlement of the border dispute with China.

On Sri Lankan issue, the party favoured a rational solution to the ethnic problem for political settlement on the lines suggested in the 1987 India-Sri Lanka accord.

The party emphasized the need for a consistent effort to improve relations with Pakistan and solve mutual disputes on the basis of the Shimla agreement.

The resolution favoured immediate action to check infiltrations from Bangladesh, and welcomed the restoration of democracy in Nepal.

On the Kashmir issue, it said that the situation could not be tackled merely on the basis of Army and paramilitary forces.

Covering the Punjab issue, the resolution wanted that the Rajiv-Longowal accord must be implemented expeditiously and political efforts should be stepped up to isolate the Khalistani terrorists.

It reiterated its firm faith in fighting against terrorism and separatism while championing the genuine demands of the people in Assam.

The party made a scathing attack on the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad], RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh] and their allied organizations for launching a systematic and virulent campaign directing their ire at the minority community on the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babari Masjid dispute.

On Mandal issue, it supported the Karpoori Thakur formula in Bihar by evolving an acceptable consensus, Mr. Surjeet said.

UNI adds: The draft political resolution prepared for the 14th Congress of the CPI(M) to be held at Madras in January has welcomed the formula announced by the Narasimha Rao Government on the reservation of jobs for backward classes.

The CPI(M), which had been pleading for the Karpoori Thakur formula on the reservation of jobs for such people,

is of the view that the new formula conforms to the stand taken by the party on the issue.

More Details Given

92AS0276B Madras *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English
28 Oct 91 p 13

[Article: "Rao Government Will Not Last Long: CPM"]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 27—The CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist] expects that the present government may not last long and that the country will have a fresh election. It has resolved to strengthen unity with other secular parties, not to speak of left forces, including the Naxalites, so as to defeat both the Congress(I) and the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] in the election whenever it comes.

This is a formulation in the draft political resolution of the party prepared for the 14th congress in January in Madras. The draft already adopted by the central committee briefly deals with the situation in which the party had to back the minority government and then says that the policies and performance of the Narasimha Rao government will determine how long it will last in office.

The CPM spokesperson, Mr. Harkishan Singh Surjeet, and Mr. Sitaram Yechuri, central secretariat member, released the draft at a news conference in the capital on Saturday. The draft is to be discussed by all party units before the Congress where it is to be adopted.

The resolution is severely critical of the government's stand on a wide range of national issues, particularly its new economic policy. So much so, the current economic platform of the Congress(I) is equated with that of the BJP. Both are, the resolution says, pro-big business and pro-landlord. The attempt has, therefore, to be to channelise the people's discontent arising out of the new economic policy on democratic lines foiling the efforts of the BJP to divert it into other divisive directions.

The resolution is marked by concern over the new economic policy, the threat to national unity and the growing canker of communalism. Threats to democracy borne out of criminalisation of political and electoral work and the incidence of corruption as evidenced by the Bofors and BCCI [Bank of Credit and Commerce International] scandals have also received significant mention.

Ayodhya issue: On the specific question of the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri masjid dispute, the CPM says that the only way to solve it is through negotiations. If negotiations fail, the verdict of the court before which the case lies should be accepted by both sides, since the dispute involves the religious sentiments of both communities.

On the issue of social justice, it says that any attempt to oppose reservations by upper caste vested interests or to project reservations in such a manner as to perpetuate caste divisions are detrimental to unity. While supporting reservation as a measure to advance social justice, it has also stressed that the problems of the rural poor in the backward communities can be solved only through rapid land reforms, elimination of feudal relations in villages

and industrialisation. It feels the new formula for reservation adopted by the government conforms to its own stand.

The resolution also calls for expanding the autonomy of states in legitimate spheres. A broad-based movement has to be mounted to demand change in the Centre-State relations and for a federal structure. Without this, the CPM feels, the problems of national unity, the problems in Punjab, Assam and Kashmir cannot be found.

The resolution says the country has been brought to a dangerous economic situation through a wanton policy of liberalisation and acceptance of IMF-World Bank prescriptions. While resisting the "pro-imperialist, pro-monopoly, pro-landlord" policies dictated by the International Monetary Fund, the resolution also suggests an alternative. The alternative policy to safeguard India's economic sovereignty requires, according to the resolution, increased direct taxation and reduction in essential government expenditure, imposition of wealth tax on big business houses which have built up huge assets and so on.

The CPM believes that in the coming days only the rapid increase of left strength will guarantee a check on the rise of communal and divisive forces and attacks on the people's rights. While it has disagreement with the secular bourgeois parties with whom it has built up an understanding to oppose the anti-people policies of the Congress(I) and the communal threat posed by the BJP, it feels that this line has to be pursued.

The resolution dwells at length on the international situation which has been 'stormy and difficult' for the forces of socialism, national liberation and the working class movement. It says that the accumulated distortions in applying Marxist-Leninist principles to building socialism and the deformations in socialist democracy should not be attributed to the 'science of Marxism-Leninism.' The resolution is emphatic that "the whole course of history since the October Revolution has confirmed the validity of the correctness of the theory of Marxism-Leninism." [quotation marks as published]

Resolution on Ideology

92AS0276C Madras THE HINDU in English
1 Nov 91 p 7

[Article: "CPI(M) Foresees Intense Class Struggle"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 31—Following the fall of the socialist bastion in the USSR and the reverses to the 'forces of world socialism,' the period ahead is one of 'intense class struggles,' the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] draft resolution on ideological issues to be presented to the party's forthcoming 14th Congress has stated.

The draft resolution on ideology, released to the press on Wednesday, has also pointed to the urgent need to unite 'anti-imperialist' forces, especially in the developing world, and 'forge unity in action with the working class in the capitalist countries.'

While calling for a deeper study of what went wrong in the development of socialism in the USSR, the CPI(M) has no

hesitation in accusing the Soviet President, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, of 'dismantling socialism and disintegrating the USSR,' of counterposing 'universal human values,' to 'class values' and 'spreading illusions about present-day imperialism and ascribing humanism to it.'

Conversion: The party's draft statement on ideology notes the 'conversion of the great Bolshevik party of Lenin into a mere Social Democratic one,' i.e. one which seeks reforms within the capitalist framework and which necessarily relies on 'class collaboration' with exploiters.

Counterposing the recent developments in Soviet Union with China, the CPI(M) says an imperialist attempt to internally subvert socialism was made in China in 1989 (the Tienanmen Square episode) but was thwarted by the Communist Party of China and the People's Liberation Army.

Referring to the failed August coup in Moscow, the party says in USSR too attempt was made to resist the process of dismantling of socialism and prevent the disintegration of the Union, but it failed, and was followed by an intense anti-communist offensive.

While not recognising the coup as such, the CPI(M) has, however, 'emphasised' that the successes achieved by the anti-communist forces in USSR are due in the main to the shortcomings, errors and distortions in the past that resulted in people's discontent, alienating them from both the party and the State.

Distortions traced to Khrushchev period: But the party, in keeping with its traditional understanding, traces the distortions essentially to the 'revisionist' understanding of the Khrushchev period, arising possibly from the yearning of the Soviet people for peace after the Second World War in which 20 million Soviet lives were lost, and not to the legacy of Stalin.

Without referring to it in specific terms, the CPI(M) also appears to be supportive of the policy of forced collectivisation under Stalin in the wider political circumstances of the day, i.e. the need to build socialism in one country under circumstances of capitalist encirclement and siege.

The CPI(M) is critical of the imitation by erstwhile socialist states of east Europe of the specific forms of dictatorship of the proletariat that arose in the Soviet Union.

At the theoretical level, the CPI(M) does speak of the necessity of inner-party ideology, and says that unfortunately in the name of socialism innerparty democracy can become a casualty leading to bureaucratism.

It also says another 'major distortion' in the USSR, in practice, was that the dictatorship of the proletariat degenerated to the dictatorship of the party, and more often than not, of the party leadership, as revealed in the recent developments.

Planning and market: Talking of planning under socialism, the CPI(M) says over-centralisation could stifle initiative that stimulates production. On the question of planning and market, it says the point is not 'planning versus

market,' but 'which dominates what.' It does say that 'ignoring market indicator leads to greater irrational use of resources.' But the attempt to replace state planning by market, and allowing the decision on the priorities of investment to be decided by market forces, would only pave the way for the restoration of capitalism.

The overall ideological position of the CPI(M) is that the 'fundamental direction of the epoch continues to be that of a transition from capitalism to socialism.' But the party has noted. 'However, as noted earlier, capitalism still retains the potential to meet its problems.' 'It is also the party' view that the U.S. 'leadership of the imperialist camp continues at the moment' inspite of growing economic rivalry within the camp.

Orissa CPI-M Rebels Set Up New Party

92AS0280A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
3 Oct 91 p 1

[Article: "Orissa CPM Rebels Set Up New Party"]

[Text] Bhubaneswar, Oct. 2—The Orissa Communist Party, led by Mr. Ajeya Rout of the breakaway group of Orissa CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] which was launched today, laid great emphasis on regional development and indirectly accepted the state chief minister, Mr. Biju Patnaik's slogan of autonomy for states.

This was adequately evident from the new party's political resolution and also from Mr. Rout's welcome speech. "The hurdles in the way of development of Orissa and other states can be removed if the autonomy of the states is ensured within the federal structure having currency, communications, defence and foreign affairs with the Centre," the resolution said.

It announced that the new party would work for setting up such a federal system, in which all other matters, including foreign trade, would be left in the hands of the states.

Mr. Dulal Chakravarty, convenor of the coordination committee of the 22 rebel CPI(M) groups of West Bengal, met Mr. Rout here late last week and held talks on evolving an all-India party. Besides, CPI(M) rebels from other states like Karnataka, Bihar and Punjab have also been in touch with Orissa's breakaway group leaders, Mr. Rout told newsmen.

Mr. Shakti Pal, a rebel CPI(M) leader from West Bengal, who attended the opening congress of the Orissa Communist Party, said a Marxist party parallel to his state unit of the CPI(M) was being organised. Preparations for setting up the new party were underway in all the districts, the former CPI(M) leader from Midnapore district said.

Mr. Pal claimed that the West Bengal chief minister, Mr. Jyoti Basu, had admitted prevalence of corruption in the state CPI(M) and government in a letter to an old party rebel leader, Mr. Sachin Sen, at the time of the last Calcutta corporation elections. Mr. Basu had promised Mr. Sen that a discussion would be held after the civil polls to evolve remedial measures to root out corruption in the party.

Mr. Basu had requested Mr. Sen to withdraw from contest against the party's official candidate, Mr. Prasanta Sur, in the Jadavpur seat, to which Mr. Sen had conceded. But Mr. Basu never held talks on the party affairs with the rebels after the polls were over, Mr. Pal said.

The Orissa Communist Party in its political resolution, hinted at a similar split in the CPI [Communist Party of India] when it said that a section of the CPI leadership also demonstrates the same dictatorial attitude as the CPI(M) leadership. While strongly denouncing the "democratic centralism" in the name of which the CPI(M) leadership was trying to perpetuate its stronghold on the party, the resolution said, "Marxism will flourish only if full and unrestricted democracy is adhered to while applying Marxism." The resolution promised such free practice of democracy in the new party organisation.

The Orissa Communist Party was launched at its inaugural congress which was attended by about 1,500 members who broke away from the CPI(M).

The one-day congress opened with the hoisting of the new party's flag which is red with the sickle and hammer crossing each other.

Janata Dal Counseled To Gracefully Dissolve

92AS0290B Secunderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 24 Oct 91 p 8

[Commentary: "A Rudderless Ship"]

[Text] The disintegration of the Janata Dal is very much on the cards. With its irrelevance increasing day by day, some of the leaders of the hotch-potch party are advocating either a coalition with the ruling Congress (I) or outright merger with that party. These leaders, knowing full well what is in store for the party, are suggesting a realignment of centrist forces to counter the growing influence of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and other fundamentalist forces. Their plea cannot be faulted. But the idea bristles with many practical difficulties. Admittedly, the proponents of realignment like Mr. Ramakrishna Hedge are steeped in Congress culture. But the ruling party at the Centre, despite the minority character of its government, is very much disinclined to induce defections from the Janata Dal. No less a leader than the prime minister, P. V. Narasimha Rao, has made it clear that he is against engineering defections. Even if some Janata Dal leaders are admitted into the Congress (I), it is going to be on a selective basis. That would be better than either an untenable coalition or an unwarranted merger. With the growing realisation on the part of almost all sections of people and many political parties that any political instability at the Centre at this juncture would be disastrous to the country as a whole, there is no threat to the Narasimha Rao Government. And, understandably, the Congress (I) leaders are not overly interested in augmenting their strength from the Janata Dal, even after knowing that a sizeable section of that party is willing to breakaway and join the ruling party. There are some by favouring a coalition with the Congress (I). Implicit in their suggestion

is the idea that the crumbling Janata Dal is still a force to reckon with! They are only putting a bold face on their party.

Its 11-month rule exposed its ideological bankruptcy and administrative inability. No wonder the electorate knocked the stuffing out of it at the last election. While in power, the Janata Dal mucked up everything. At its formal inauguration in Bangalore some years ago, its leaders made such a din about a viable national alternative to the Congress (I) that some sections of the electorate grudgingly extended their support to it. Even though the Congress (I) emerged as the single largest party in the 1989 elections, it, with considerable foresight, did not stake its claim to form a government. That Congress (I) decision can be interpreted as a challenge to the Janata Dal and its numerous satellites to do what they had been saying they would do. When the time had come for them to deliver the goods, they proved laughably unequal to the task. Now one can imagine what an alliance with such parties would mean for the present government, which is right now engaged in clearing up the mess made by their short-lived regime.

The political scenario would acquire more clarity if the Janata Dal leaders gracefully dissolved their hodgepodge outfit and voted it out of existence, just as some East-European Communist parties, realising that they had outlived their utility, voted themselves out of power and rechristened themselves. Such a step would be much appreciated by people who have yet to recover from the numerous political quakes and economic crises caused by the Janata Dal Government. Selective homecoming by repentant old Congressmen will be all right, but not a coalition or a merger. During his premiership, Mr. V.P. Singh proved to be a square peg in a round hold. The position of the Janata Dal in Indian politics is now much worse—and ridiculous.

Communists Coalescing With Secularists To Survive

92AS0290A Secunderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 24 Oct 91 p 8

[Article by Mohit Sen: "Communists in India Take Stock"]

[Text] The events in the Soviet Union have brought matters to a head in the Communist movement in India. But in different ways. The prospects of Communist reunification have receded but those of Communist renewal have advanced.

The Communist movement in India has obviously come to stay even if not in its present forms of articulation and organisation. It would be absurd to exaggerate its strength. It is still in electoral terms a minor force except in W. Bengal, Kerala and Tripura. Its mass organisations—trade unions, kisan sabhas, agricultural labourers' unions, students, youth and women's federations—are not the dominant force in any sphere.

As a matter of fact, if one goes by normal standards of political measurement one would have to conclude that

this movement has stagnated since the mid-1960s. This would not be a totally wrong conclusion either. But it would be one-sided.

What has enormously increased precisely since then has been the acceptability of the Communists. Cynics and the ultra-revolutionary Communists themselves would and have interpreted this as some sort of sellout on the part of the main Communist formations and their leaders. In fact, however, it reflects deeprooted processes in the country as a whole and in the Communist movement.

As a country and people we are simultaneously going beyond the phase of post-independence into that of a progressive nationalist unity and facing the prospect of being destabilised. There is a drawing together of a wide range of forces and parties who, despite differences and prejudices, are coming to terms with both aspects of the present historical stage of our development. There is also a drawing apart of other forces and parties who see in the present situation something which resembles both a fresh opportunity and a last chance.

It is no accident that this is happening to and in our country at a time when the world situation is also entering a new phase. To some it appears as if the distinguishing feature of this phase is the ruin of the Soviet Union and the emergence of the United States as the sole super power. This is a very partial view. Even if the Soviet Union by whatever name it is eventually called is unable to recover, the United States will never be able to impose pax Americana.

The world has entered the stage when the era of confrontation has ended. This is, of course, due to objective processes but all of humanity owes a great deal to the vision and courage of Gorbachev. By destroying Stalinism he made it impossible for the military-industrial complex and the CIA—the U.S. counterpart of Stalinism—to continue to push the world towards the abyss of nuclear annihilation. The drive to world domination on the part of the U.S. Stalinists would continue by economic-technological means and destabilisation tactics and much less by the buildup of armaments. The answer to that drive would have to be the strengthening of the national state, socio-economic democratisation and development which is in time with symmetrical and equal global interdependence.

To both participate as a great power in this new phase of global development as well as to help to turn it in the direction of cooperation and against new forms of domination, India will need to as crucially as possible complete its evolution into a shaped progressive nationalist entity.

All segments of the Communist movement in India have had to respond to this systemic change in our country and the globe. All the more so since the safety net of the Soviet Union, as it were, has been removed. This removal is not just in the sense that a powerful ally, friend and supporter has ceased to exist certainly in that capacity if not totally. It is also, and more importantly, in the sense that the Communists have to think afresh even if they are to come back to the same conclusions as before. This applies even

to important components of the naxalite trend who had not and have not written off the Soviet Union as a social imperialist state. When all is said and done the Soviet Union represented for the Communists of India, as elsewhere, something which they and they alone could accomplish and which, with modification, represented the destination to which they would bring their countries and peoples.

Though the CPI [Communist Party of India], CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist], and UCPI [United Communist Party of India] and the naxalites had written and talked for a decades together that they would integrate their doctrine of Marxism-Leninism with the Indian reality, they had never really fully understood the dimensions of this task. Mao Dze-dong had long ago stated that he and his party had civilised Marxism-Leninism. But this did not prevent the Communists of China from committing enormous errors at least from 1958 onwards. These demonstrated above all, that even they had not understood China to say nothing of the world as a whole. The Communists of India were in a worse situation than their Chinese counterparts. The paradox with them was that the more they were unable to achieve the success that their intelligence and dedication, as it were, entitled them to the less self-confidence they had to cease imitating and becoming creative. But now there is nothing for them to imitate. They will have to be creative or cease to be. They will have to understand India—its present, its history and its tradition—as well as the novel shape of the world.

Another impulse to creativity and effective action would be that what is now also in question is what exactly [is] Marxism-Leninism, what is valid about its theoretical structures and what is the meaning of its method.

There is a dual development in the thinking of the two main contingents of the communist movement in India—the CPI(M) and the CPI.

The CPI(M) is theoretically obstinately sticking to its Stalinist positions. But this is even more now than in the past meant to keep its cadres and members in a state of obedience to the leadership so that the latter can keep doing what it feels would advance the revolution, i.e., increase the presence of the party in the internal politics of India. Increasingly the way to ensure this is seen as building relations with the secular forces in the Congress(I), Janata Dal and elsewhere. The CPI(M) can, its leadership believes, cope with the secular liberals and even take them in to it as it happened with Sri Ajoy Mkerjee and his Bangla Congress in the late 1960s in West Bengal. What requires confrontation is fundamentalism previously of the Nehruite dominated Congress and now of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]. This is a wrong and distorted view but this is precisely what has made the CPI(M) acceptable to both the present leadership of the Janata Dal and a sector of the leadership of the Congress-I.

The CPI, on the other hand, has reverted theoretically to its 1958 positions which logically led on to its coalitional approach to the Congress reaching its peak in Kerala from 1969 to 1978. Yet while it has made a serious break with Stalinism as it manifested itself in the Soviet Union. It has so far not done so with its own relapse to Stalinism in India from 1978, i.e., giving priority to anti-Congressism. How long it can maintain this duality remains to be seen. It cannot be for long if the CPI is to resume its relevance.

What the Naxalites would be up to, barring the IPF [Indian People's Front] (which is also too infected with Lohiaism), is not of great importance since they have really ceased to count as a constituent of Marxism-Leninism-based formations.

The Communists as a whole are doing stocktaking fortunately for them in a country which has so far refused to be anti-Communist. They must hurry, however, since anti-communism has now taken shape in a menacing form.

Problems in Attracting Foreign Investment Told

92AS0282A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 31 Oct 91
p 9

[Article by K. K. Katyal: "Western Investors Prefer To Wait"]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 30—The Indian authorities will have to make persistent efforts to "sell" the new economic package abroad, considering the deep-seated prejudices, not altogether misplaced, against the bureaucracy here, apart from other factors. Foreign investors tend to wait for concrete evidence of a change in the bureaucracy's attitude before taking hard decisions. This wait-and-watch phase could be cut short, not by rhetoric but by reducing the gap between professions and actions.

In the case of Germany, the visit here on November 18 of Mr. Jurjen Moelemann, Minister of Economics, and a delegation of 20 to 25 industrialists, all top-notchers, and in the case of the U.K. the trip of British industrialists in February next year to coincide with Prince Charles' presence in India, will be the occasions for meaningful interaction.

Facile assumption: The assumption that the mere announcement of the new policy will automatically change the perceptions of the potential investors or that reassuring ministerial pronouncements would do the trick is rather facile. There is no substitute for tangible steps signalling new norms and practices, and a single case of clearance with the expedition envisaged in the economic package will be more effective than any number of statements by Ministers and officials, senior and junior. This is the impression I gathered in my talks, during a recent visit to Germany and the U.K., with bureaucrats and the representatives of the trade and industry.

In Germany, last month's visit by the Prime Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao and his address and clarifications to a group of top industrialists went a long way in dispelling doubts on 1) whether the new package was irreversible, 2) whether it was backed by national consensus and 3) whether the period of political instability was over. But it could not have gone beyond this stage and that is where concrete evidence of change assumes importance.

Negative message: Unfortunately, because of the time-lag between the policy announcement and the despatch of necessary instructions to lower-level bureaucracy, there were a few cases of new investors meeting the old-style resistance. That served to strengthen the misgivings and came in the way of the building of confidence in the new dispensation.

In the world of investors, word travels very fast and just as the pleasant experience of one entrepreneur could send positive signals all around, a solitary unpleasant case could prove disproportionately damaging. For instance, when the Bombay customs insisted on old replenishment licences from a British firm, or when the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) in the U.K. was required to provide guarantee in the matter of temporary licences for goods meant for trade fairs, as was done in the past, the

message conveyed was highly negative—that the bureaucracy was undermining the new policies or that the reforms had to be decreed because of economic crisis and the exhortation of the I.M.F. but those charged with implementation stuck to old ways.

Big drop: There was a big drop in German investments last year because of several factors—world-wide competition for attracting capital, new openings provided by Eastern Europe and diversion of attention to the old GDR. While the issues of concern in Germany were the same as in the U.K., officials and industrialists were equally confident that the 1990 trend would be reversed because of the new climate. Here, too, the main worry related to the attitude of the officialdom.

Other issues they had in mind were 1) whether the State Governments would be prompt in providing necessary infrastructure, such as land, water, power, telephones and 2) whether the labour front would not present problems.

Some felt that the liberalisation process could have been carried further and the area of the licensing sector reduced, the ceiling on the import of goods lifted and curbs on the repatriation of profits eased till the rupee became convertible.

The doubts and misgivings, however, were subject to the overriding realisation that the vast Indian market could not be ignored or as one of the industrialists put it, "we have to invest not for the sake of tomorrow but day after tomorrow." The thought that Japan would entrench itself in the area if they kept away was not far from the mind of industrialists in the West.

Minister Tells of Plans for Foreign Trade Office

92AS0285A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 2 Nov 91
p 11

[Article: "Directorate-General of Foreign Trade From April"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Madras, Nov. 1—While the Directorate General of International Trade (DGIT) would come into being from April 1992, the final shape of the proposed umbrella organisation for trade promotion had not been finalised the Union Minister of State for Commerce, Mr. P. Chidambaram, said here today.

He said the concept paper on the trade promotion council would be reviewed and discussed on November 18 and a final report prepared by the end of December.

The Trade Development Authority and the Trade Fair Authority of India would be merged with effect from January 1, 1992. From next year, the DGIT would take charge of export production in the country and follow up till the shipment including Customs clearance. The proposed trade promotion body was meant to take up all functions outside the country.

Participating at a 'meet the press' programme at the Madras Press Club, Mr. Chidambaram said that an economic cell had been set up in the Ministry of External

Affairs, to 'market India abroad.' All the Embassies had been provided with computer diskettes on the new policies and incentives.

Foreign direct investment: He said Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) had dropped to \$125 million last year, which worked out to a mere 0.05 percent of India's GDP [gross domestic product]. 'Even if we secure an FDI of \$1 billion, it will be only 0.5 percent of the GDP. Where is the fear of selling out to the multinationals,' he asked.

The Minister noted that the Government had a goal of securing an FDI of at least two to three billion dollars from next year. He was told during his recent visit to Indonesia that the FDI there had touched \$8 billion in the first nine months of the current year and the Government had decided to stop further investments this year.

'We are aware there are hurdles such as our control regime, lack of infrastructure and bureaucratic delays. But these are being removed and the Government is confident that things will start looking up from next year,' Mr. Chidambaram said.

He hoped to complete the process of bringing more commodities and items first under Exim [export-import] scrips and ultimately under the OGL [Open General Letter] by March 1992. The Centre had declared its policy of bringing all commodities, except a 'small negative list,' under the OGL in three years.

New trade protocol: Answering questions, the Minister said the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Madhavsingh Solanki, would be leading a delegation to the USSR on November 16. He was confident that the new trade protocol for 1992 and a possible Indo-Soviet Republics trade agreement would be signed before December end.

He said that India had the option now of negotiating with the federal/Central Government in Russian for trade in

certain commodities and directly with some of the now independent Republics and this could be to India's advantage.

Last year, the balance of trade with the USSR was in India's favour, with a 'technical credit' of Rs.[rupees]1,500 crores. It would be brought down to Rs. 750 crores this year. Against an estimated bilateral trade of Rs. 9,000 crores this year, two-way trade may not be more than Rs. 7,000 crores.

Reviewing the export-import performance in the current year, Mr. Chidambaram noted that in the first five months exports had reached \$6685 million and imports \$7605 million, with a trade deficit of \$919 million. This was only 50 percent of last year's \$1821 million.

In rupee terms, exports were Rs. 15,039 crores, imports Rs. 17,108 crores and the trade deficit Rs. 2068 crores, compared to the deficit of Rs. 3141 crores last year for the same period.

Export outlook bright: He was optimistic that once the Reserve Bank of India lifted the import curbs, exports would go up further and it all depended on when the curbs are lifted and to what extent.

Though overall exports had come down by 6.8 percent in dollar terms, the 'silver lining' this year was the increase in exports to the General Currency Area by 6.5 percent and a steep decline in exports to the rupee payment area by 56.6 percent and this was due to deliberate policy planning.

A major success for the new policies was the significant increase in foreign exchange reserves. Compared to a precarious Rs. 1,960 crores when the Narasimha Rao Government took over, it had swelled up to Rs. 5,900 crores as of October 28. This was after the gold reserves with the foreign banks had been redeemed.

Asked about the problems in Exim scrips, Mr. Chidambaram warned exporters against misusing it or giving false certificates.

Papers Report on Military Concerns

Army Tank Strength

92AS0258A Madras *THE HINDU in English* 29 Oct 91
p 3

[Boldface words as published]

[Text] Madras, 28 October: The Army is getting the required number of battle tanks and the Heavy Vehicles Factory [HVF], Avadi, is meeting the orders placed with it for the tanks, according to Lt. Gen. R.P. Agarwal, Director-General of Ordnance Services, Army Headquarters, New Delhi.

He told reporters on Monday at the end of a four-day seminar on inventory management for Ordnance officers held at the Ordnance Depot, Avadi, that the Ordnance Depots had enough battle tanks according to their requirements.

Answering questions whether the disintegration of the Soviet Union would lead to a shortage of the Soviet-made T-72 tanks which were being assembled at the HVF, he said, "What we plan, we have. What I want, I am getting. The tanks have been coming out according to production (schedule)... All production planning is done four years in advance.

Asked whether the phasing out of Vijayanta tanks, and the reported delay in producing the engines for the T-72 at Avadi would lead to a shortfall in the Army's requirements of tanks, he said, "We placed orders with the HVF and they are giving us the numbers we asked for." The factory at Medak in Andhra Pradesh for producing the engines for the BMP (armoured personnel carriers) also met last year's orders.

Needle to copters: The seminar discussed how to bring about economy in the Ordnance Depots in the Southern Command without compromising the efficiency and how to provide effective cover to the equipment of the Army. The Army Ordnance Corps had the responsibility of providing arms and ammunition to the Army and it had in its inventory items ranging from a needle, a gun to a battle tank. It also supplied them with wireless sets, winter clothes for the soldiers at the Siachen Glacier where the temperature dipped to minus 35 degrees Centigrade, rifles, jeeps, cars. After the creation of Aviation Corps in the Army, it supplied aircraft and helicopters too.

Maj. Gen. Surender Verma, Army Ordnance Corps, Southern Command, Pune, who inaugurated the seminar, said it threw up a number of innovative ideas which would be tried in the six Ordnance Depots in the Southern Command. They included salvaging unserviceable scrap in the Depots' workshops and utilising them, making old, serviceable equipment current by today's standards, new ways of packing, etc. "Due to resource crunch, we are trying to look inwards and what we can do ourselves," Maj. Gen. Verma said.

They salvaged equipment such as tank guns, vehicles, radio sets. From July this year, metals including brass from cartridge cases and bearings of equipment no longer in use

had been disposed for Rs.[rupees]12 crores to 15 crores. Certain obligatory expenditure such as the increase in dearness allowance had forced them to effect economy without compromising efficiency.

Asked whether the Army had any alternative programme for acquiring howitzers if the contract with Bofors was terminated, Lt. Gen. Agarwal said, "If the contract with the Bofors is not renewed, we always have arrangements for making spares."

New Naval Air Station

92AS0258B Madras *THE HINDU in English* 22 Oct 91
p 7

[Text] Visakhapatnam, 21 October: INS Dega, Indian Navy's newest independent Naval Air Station, was commissioned here today by the Chief of Naval Staff Admiral Laxminarayan Ramdas.

A brief ceremony involving naming of the Station by Mrs. Lalitha Ramdas, reading of the Commissioning Order of the INS Dega by the Commanding Officer Capt. S. Swaminathan, hoisting of the ensign and unveiling of a plaque marked the formal commissioning of the Air Station.

Addressing sailors and officers of Eastern Naval Command [ENC], Admiral Ramdas said commissioning of INS Dega was an important event in the history of Indian Navy.

The airfield of INS Dega, which served as an outpost during World War II and takes its name after a bird of hawk family, was taken over by the Navy from the Director General of Civil Aviation [DGCA] in March, 1986. Since then facilities such as a modern ATC, Air Technical complex and workshops for second line serving of aircraft and components have been added.

Besides providing facilities for the aircraft of the IAF [Indian Air Force], Coast Guard, Vayudoot and Indian Airlines, the Air Station supports five different types of helicopters ranging from the Chetaks to Sea Kings and anti-submarine helicopters of the fleet.

Admiral Ramdas said the airfield lacked night landing facilities at the time of its acquisition from DGCA but the problem had been overcome. Allotment of land by the local civil administration was awaited for the extension of its runway.

Vice-Admiral V.S. Shekawat, Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief of ENC, said INS Dega would mark a milestone in formalising the future growth and expansion of the air arm of Indian Navy, including induction of indigenous aircraft including light combat aircraft. Earlier, Admiral Ramdas inspected a guard of honour and reviewed a parade by navymen.

Army Deployment in Punjab: Views, Comments

Tohra's Victory Hailed

92AS0292A Bangalore *DECCAN HERALD in English*
17 Nov 91 p 7

[Article by Surinder Khullar: "Tohra's Victory Throws Up Chance for Peace"]

[Text] Chandigarh, 16 November—The importance of Gurcharan Singh Tohra lies in the fact that he is Tohra, the invincible.

The manner he went about projecting himself, after his self-exile, to knit the top Akali leaders together for the post of the prestigious Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhik Committee [SGPC] Presidency showed his maturity and political acumen.

That Mr. Tohra polled 91 of the 97 votes to defeat Harcharan Singh Dilli, Akali Dal (Mann) and became the President of the SGPC for the 18th time since 1973 is an enviable record in panthic history, for no one else has achieved this feat since the SGPC was founded in 1925.

Mr. Tohra is thoroughly embedded in grassroot Sikh politics and is deeply wedded to the Sikh religion. Immediately after his thunderous victory Mr. Tohra told the SGPC members that "we should not have any grouse against those who voted against us as fighting elections are our democratic right."

Mr. Tohra pointed out that he was assuming the August office of the SGPC at a time when the existence of the SGPC itself was at stake. He said that the militants were the front-arm leaders of the Sikh struggle and nothing could be settled unless the Centre talked to them. He further assured complete cooperation to all those outfits and groups who were fighting against state repression. Mr. Tohra told this correspondent that though he wanted to remain only a kingmaker pressures from different quarters including the Akali Dal (B) and Akali Dal (L) had been tremendous and "I could not say no."

Limelight: Mr. Gurcharan Singh Tohra has remained in the limelight of Akali politics since 1973 when he was elected president of the SGPC. Known for his aggressive style, Mr. Tohra was the main architect of the anti-emergency Dharm Yudh during which more than 40,000 "freedom fighters" were jailed. In fact, the peaceful and non-violent struggle fashioned by him brought unprecedented applause from leaders like Jayaprakash Naryan and knitted the Akalis with anti-Congressism for all times.

The Badal-Tohra-Talwandi troika called the Akali trimurti, in fact led Sikh politics since they joined hands in 1973.

The rise of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, with the active support of former President Giani Zail Singh stole the thunder from the Badal-Tohra-Talwandi axis after Indira Gandhi dismissed the Badal Government in early 1980.

Mr. Tohra understood the game of Giani Zail Singh who wanted to divide the Akalis to keep one of the factions with him to maintain his leverage with Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Mr. Tohra like many other Akali leaders mostly remained in and out of jail during 1984 and 1989 for one reason or the other. In 1986 Mr. Tohra resigned his post and gave it to Mr. Kabul Singh, but was renominated in 1986 when the SGPC poll was held in November.

Interest: Political observers have been watching the quirks of Sikh politics with interest as the reunion of the Badal, Tohra, Talwandi axis has the potential of playing a constructive role in bringing back the state its lost peace. The importance of Mr. Tohra is that he could easily unite the Akalis of all hues at the present juncture and give the necessary lead the Sikhs had been asking for in the recent past. That Mr. Tohra could cement the scattered Akalis to retain his control over the apex Sikh body and could confront the hardliners lends hope that the decimated traditional Akalis can still snatch the initiative from the secessionist slogan mongers.

Sources said that the Centre had welcomed Mr. Tohra's victory and had decided to give all possible help to help democratic processes while the para-military headed by K.P.S. Gill would launch an offensive against the militants. There is an assurance to Mr. Gill that the army would be spread all over the state and would lend full support when required. Sources further said that the army would start its exercises in the state and engage killer gangs at night to instill confidence in the demoralised populace. About 800 companies of para-military forces are likely to participate in the massive anti-terrorist campaign being launched by the Centre in Punjab in the next few days. More than five divisions of the army would also join so that elections to the Punjab Assembly and the Lok Sabha can be held before the promised date of 15 February.

Historic: Meanwhile to allay misunderstandings that Mr. Gill had been thrust upon Punjab Governor Surendra Nath who had allegedly been against his return to the state, both of them have started addressing meetings of policemen jointly. Mr. Nath has been speaking very high of Mr. Gill who according to him knows Punjab extremely well.

Mr. Tohra's return could prove historic if he succeeds in the resurrection of the sanguine image of the SGPC as the sole arbiter of Sikh affairs. His victory also proves that the Akalis have not started crawling despite the threats from militants. Experts strongly feel that a great opportunity has been thrown up and it is to be seen whether the Centre would help Mr. Tohra to bring Punjab back on rails.

Deployment Seen as Risky

92AS0292B Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
17 Nov 91 p 7

[Article by Jagpreet Luthra: "Army in Punjab Has Risks"]

[Text] New Delhi, 16 November—After being in a limbo for a long time over the sensitive Punjab problem, the Central government seems to be finally paying attention to it.

The attention has come in the form of two notable decisions announced this week: Prime Minister P.V. Narsimha Rao's statement that elections would be held in Punjab by February end and the official statement in regard to redeployment of army in the State, as a way towards normal elections.

According to some reports, nearly 140 battalions comprising a hundred thousands soldiers are expected to move

into different parts of the State within a fortnight. The primary job of the army these reports suggest would be to assist the police and paramilitary forces in smashing militant hideouts, organise ambushes to capture the militants and undertake night patrolling.

The official spokesman while explaining the government's decision about the role being assigned to the army said that it was merely a redeployment of troops from the various Cantonments in the State to meet the additional security needs. He added that a similar move had been made after the announcement of elections in July though the poll was cancelled at the eleventh hour.

The elaborate official explanation obviously showed the discomfiture the Centre feels in making a move that, as the past record proves, could only be counter-productive and a move that has been made against the advice of those genuinely concerned about the political problem in the state.

Trepidation: Among the political parties the only one that would be happy about the decision is the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] which has been demanding it.

The State's minority population, the Hindus too would probably welcome the move as it is perceived to lessen the militant violence, at least, in the short run.

However, the decision is bound to cause trepidation particularly among the State's Sikh population. A lesser known aspect of the militant killings in Punjab is that more Sikhs than Hindus have been killed in the State in the last eight years since the inception of the movement for a separate Sikh state. And, yet, if an ordinary Sikh feels threatened by the deployment of the army unlike his or her Hindu counterpart, it is because any tough measures taken by the State, instead of safeguarding their lives is going to put them in further jeopardy.

Operation Bluestar and Operation Black Thunder carried out in 1984 and 1989 respectively, besides flushing out the militants, also brought the worst kind of state reprisals against the Sikh community, many of whose innocent members were killed in them. Again, the police excesses in the State which are being talked about even by those who champion harsh administrative measures to root out militancy, have affected the Sikh community. The ordinary Sikhs, therefore, feel that they are getting it from both sides and given a choice would resist any further administrative measures of the kind.

Impact: Apart from the impact of the deployment of the army on the psyche of the majority community in Punjab, the move reflects the government's thinking on Punjab, which most Punjab-watchers would agree has not gone beyond administrative ideas to contain militancy, though what is needed in the State, they agree is a political initiative. The State, they feel, can do without any of the methods that have failed like an army operation, however, limited or restrained it may be.

The opponents of the move are also alarmed about the fall-out of this move on the army's image. CPI [Communist Party of India] leader from Punjab Jagjit Singh Anand

writing in a recent issue of the party's weekly NEW AGE said: "The deployment of the army would be unfortunate looked at from all angles. It will not only lead to indiscriminate repression but also to the impairing of the standard of behaviour of the army itself which so far has an unparalleled record of uprightness."

The Punjab police, which is supposed to be the eyes and ears of the army in tackling the situation, is already in a state of moral disarray with hundreds of police personnel and their families having been wiped out in militant attacks.

The coordination between the police and the para-military forces, stationed in large numbers in Punjab is already a matter of debate in the State's police circles. With the addition of the army to tackle the situation this coordination is bound to get more complicated though not necessarily more effective.

According to sources, the government too was assailed by such doubts in arriving at the decision, which is why its formal announcement took a while to come and in that too, it tried to under-play the role to be assigned to the army. However, the implications of the move are obvious to the major players in the game and the Centre has taken a risk for which it might have to pay a heavy price.

Center Means Business

92AS0292C Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
17 Nov 91 p 8

[Article by Surinder Khullar: "Gill and the Stick of Law and Order"]

[Text] In political circles the return and recall of the super cop Karampal Singh Gill to lead the police and paramilitary forces against the Sikh insurgency in Punjab has been interpreted differently by different political parties.

If the Congress(I), the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and the CPI-CPM [Communist Party of India-Communist Party of India-Marxist] have welcomed the Centre's decision to wage a massive war against the militant insurgents, who were of late ruling the roost in the State, the Akalis of all hues, the AISSF [All India Sikh Students' Federation] and the BKU [Bharatiya Kisan Union] Rajewal faction have boldly condemned Mr. Gill's recall to Punjab, as unprecedented and an open affront to the sentiments of the beleaguered people.

Similarly, the Punjab newspapers, barring the known few, have reacted sharply and described the move as unwise and disturbing. However, there are vocalists of the eye for eye and bullet for bullet policy, who view Mr. Gill's recall to the challenging post as New Delhi decision to intensify the drive against the marauding hands of militants who are lately divided over the areas of operation and influence following inter-gang skirmishes and rivalries.

Reassuring: Political observers feel Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's reiteration that polls in Punjab would be held in February and Union Home Minister S.B. Chavan's reminder that polls would not be postponed any further, are certainly reassuring for the people of the State who had

been denied democratic processes and a popular government since October 1987 when the Surjit Singh Barnala Government was summarily dismissed amid sheer panic and desperation. Everyone, including the hard pressed bureaucracy, share the view that there could be no substitute for popular rule. Representatives from the 119 Assembly segments of the State could meet the challenges in their constituencies by mobilising people and persuading the erratic and misguided elements to shun the path of violence and militancy.

Today everyone, including the Congress Party leadership, believes that it was a blunder to postpone the polls in June as the people and political parties had braved through blood and terror for the polling day which was snatched from them on the penultimate night.

However, it would be dangerous to use the stick of law and order to demand total submission from the militants before any poll could be held in the State, for that kind of climate may never return to the sensitive border state.

Pak Factor: The Pakistan factor though disturbing, should not be overused by the Indian government to postpone polls in any of the States in the country. It is unprecedented and uncalled for. The Centre must politically deal with Pakistan at different levels to see that the Nawaz Sharif government stopped interfering in the internal affairs of India. Though the prime minister has already taken up the matter on priority basis, the Pakistan government has not as yet understood the gravity of the situation. Political observers hope that Pakistan's interference and fueling and aiding insurgency in Punjab will be reduced to the minimum and right kind of messages are sent to the militants to enable them return of the national main stream.

In fact, the Punjab militants were hell-bent to create terror and wreck business and commerce in the urban areas. There is a feeling among the militants that they had overawed the countryside, where only their writ ran. However, the return of Mr. Gill, who piloted the famous "Operation Black Thunder" a few years ago, has given enough signals that the Centre meant business and would take on the rising tide of militancy with determination and commitment. Of late, there has been a total demoralisation in the industrial towns of Ludhiana, Batala, Amritsar, Sangrur and Bhatinda. Industrialists are setting up alternative homes in neighbouring Haryana and even beyond.

Joint Operations: To create the right kind of normalcy and peace in Punjab, Governor Surendranath has repeatedly assured the people that the State was taking all measures to ensure safety of their lives and property. In fact with the appointment of Gen. J.K. Puri as adviser and Mr. Gill taking over as the Director-General Police, the people's confidence in the law enforcing agencies is likely to be enhanced. It was decided only on 12 November that the security forces of Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Union Territory of Chandigarh would undertake joint operations in the sensitive areas to end the blood-letting activities of the militants. In fact, the killing of 16 persons in Sirsa, bordering Punjab recently, and the bloody attack

on the police posts and the killing of nearly 80 relatives of the policemen had impelled the government to launch a fresh onslaught against the militants.

Mr. Gill, it was disclosed, had been told to finalise the operational details of the task to be accomplished by the paramilitary forces on a time-bound basis. Political observers feel that if the Centre wanted to achieve its objectives, Mr. Gill, with the support of the patrolling army in strength, could do that. However, only the coming weeks would tell how far the measures taken has matched the machinations and determination of the armed secessionists and fundamentalists, who have been trying to communalise the Punjab issue.

BJP Against Untimely Elections

92AS0292D Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
18 Nov 91 p 7

[Text] Shimla, 17 November (PTI)—BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] Vice-President Sunder Singh Bhandari today said the elections in Punjab should be held only after the restoration of law and order in that State.

Addressing a press conference here, Mr. Bhandari said his party was against the government's decision to hold elections in Punjab as there was no let up in the situation there.

Referring to the offers of talks to Punjab militants, he said such offers had only hardened their attitude and they were not prepared to discuss anything short of "Khalistan."

He reiterated the demand for effective employment of army in Punjab and said mere positioning of army under the command of civil administration would not yield result.

Troops Seal Entire Border

92AS0292E Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
18 Nov 91 p 7

[Text] Chandigarh, 17 November—The army has started moving into the interiors of Punjab with the twin objective of hunting down the militants and restoring public confidence before the February polls. Official sources disclosed that the entire international border with Pakistan from Kashmir to Kutch is being sealed to prevent further mischief by Pakistan.

Though the anti-terrorist operation is being headed by Mr. K.P.S. Gill, the army is likely to spread out in the interior and the entire boundary with Haryana and Rajasthan apart from Himachal Pradesh to check the movements of militants. While most of Punjab was declared disturbed a few months ago the rest is also likely to be brought under the Disturbed Area Act soon.

Confident: In the next few weeks, about 800 companies of paramilitary forces, 53,000 state policemen, 10,000 special police officers, 20,000 home guards and a minimum of three army corps would be available to tackle the militants. The government feels that it would be possible to dig up the militants whose number is being put at between 5000 and 7000. The Governor's Khula Darbars have given a

good feedback to the intelligence agencies and it is likely to prove very useful in splitting the militants sources pointed out.

Police forces in other states have been told to be on the alert to check the inflow of terrorists. Though the deployment of the army was slated for a later date the abortive attempt on the life of BJP Vice President Dr. Baldev Prakash had forced the Centre's hand.

Meanwhile the government would be urging the Akalis to participate in the February elections. The ball is now in the court of the Akalis and there are not many takers for the present.

UNI adds:

Condemned: Akali Dal (Badal) President and former Punjab Chief Minister Prakash Singh Badal on Saturday condemned the government's decision to deploy the army in Punjab, saying that this would "create more problems in Punjab."

In a statement here, Mr. Badal alleged that the scale of deployment was "unprecedented." He said the presence of the troops would turn the state into a military camp.

"What the government is totally ignoring is the havoc that this will cause. This will be the third major blunder after operations Blue-Star and Woodrose, Mr. Badal said.

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